



STATE COVER-UP!

DANIEL MORGAN MURDER—HOW CORRUPT COPS AND MEDIA MOGULS CONSPIRED >>Pages 3, 10&11



Socialist Worker

£1 | No 2759 | 16 June - 22 June 2021 | socialistworker.co.uk

● **PRITI PATEL ATTACKS ANTI-RACISTS**
● **NEW LAWS TO TARGET REFUGEES**

TORIES RAMP-UP RACISM

by ISABEL RINGROSE

THE TORIES are intensifying their racist attacks.

They want to hide their Covid-19 failures and corruption. So they turn to scapegoating.

Tory hatred towards refugees will see the English Channel become a battleground over racist ideas in the summer.

Home secretary Priti Patel plans to make Britain's already harsh asylum system even harsher. She claims this is to prevent people smugglers from exploiting vulnerable people.

But far from helping refugees, the plan will make an already desperate situation worse.

For the first time people entering Britain will see their asylum claim affected by how they entered. Yet less than 1 percent of the world's refugees are chosen for official resettlement schemes.

So there is often no other option for refugees but to make dangerous journeys without any of the documentation that governments demand.

Tightening border controls doesn't stop people from



Protest: anti-racists take the knee

attempting to enter Britain. Refugees are just pushed to try more hazardous methods.

And arguments over England footballers' taking the knee have been whipped up further by Patel. She said on the new right wing channel GB News on Monday that she doesn't support "that type of gesture politics".

It was a calculated move by Patel to choose that particular audience to spew her bile to.

Meanwhile Boris Johnson has changed his mind from

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SUMMIT

G7 leaders fail on tax, climate and vaccines

BORIS JOHNSON hailed last week's G7 summit in Cornwall as a huge success.

But the world leaders' plans for taxing corporations, vaccinating the poorest people and protecting the planet are all a sham.

Instead, they talked endlessly of the need to take on China.

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CORONAVIRUS

Tories forced to abandon 'Freedom Day'

A SHARP rise in infections has forced Boris Johnson to abandon plans to lift remaining virus restrictions.

The Delta variant is doubling the number of people with Covid-19 every nine days. The government must be forced to increase support for those who have to isolate and whose jobs go.

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PERU

How resistance to colonialism shaped the left

SPANISH "explorers" robbed the Inca lands that became Peru of their precious metals. They turned the people into slaves of empire.

Those who wanted to create a new society in Peru had to deal with the legacy of racism and poverty.

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THE THINGS THEY SAY

‘We’re going to pull together—with the UK as a midfield playmaker—to conquer Covid and prevent a rematch against another virus’

Football-based nonsense from Boris Johnson

‘The stock market’s response has been a collective yawn’

The Financial Times newspaper reports on bosses’ response to the G7 tax plans

‘The UK Government will stand up for the British sausage and no-one will ever be able to destroy it’

International trade minister Ranil Jayawardena

‘There is no evidence that I have seen that a shortage of PPE provision led to anyone dying of Covid’

Health secretary Matt Hancock giving evidence to the Commons health and science select committee



‘Unlawful’ to hand contract to firm run by Tories’ friends

TORY CABINET minister Michael Gove broke the law when the government handed a £560,000 Covid-19 contract to a business he had “personal connections” with.

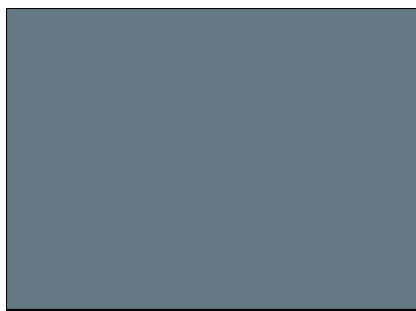
The High Court ruled last week that the Cabinet Office’s contract with PR firm Public First was “unlawful”. It also “gave rise to apparent bias”.

The company was run by close allies of Gove and the prime minister’s former chief adviser, Dominic Cummings.

One of Public First’s directors, Rachel Wolf, used to be an adviser to Gove and co-wrote the Conservative Party’s election manifesto in 2019.

The firm’s other director is James Frayne, whose work alongside Cummings dates back 20 years and who was also hired by Gove when he was education secretary.

Emails revealed in court show that both Gove and Number 10 wanted Public First to be given the work. The firm was subsequently handed contracts without competitive tender.



MICHAEL GOVE handed out the contract

The judge said, “The existence of personal connections between the Defendant (Gove), Mr Cummings and the directors of Public First was a relevant circumstance that might be perceived to compromise their impartiality and independence in the context of a public procurement.”

Last year, the government defended the contract, saying it was awarded under emergency Covid-19 regulations. But the Cabinet Office’s own public

records show that some of the work was, in fact, about Brexit.

The court found that the government’s version of events “does not stand up to scrutiny”.

The judge added, “Failure to consider any other research agency... would lead a fair minded and informed observer to conclude that there was a real possibility, or a real danger, that the decision maker was biased.”

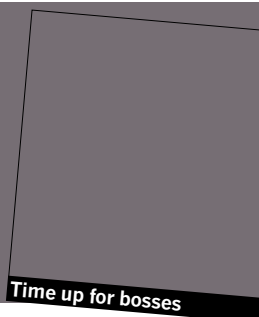
Public First went on to win more than £1 million of public contracts without tender under emergency Covid-19 provisions.

Cummings has described Frayne as a friend, saying he has talked to him “extensively about focus groups and public opinion over many years”.

The government is reported to have spent up to £600,000 on its failed legal defence—exceeding the value of the original contract for Public First.

The ruling follows a joint investigation by openDemocracy website and The Guardian newspaper.

MORRISONS SUPERMARKET shareholders have voted overwhelmingly against the award of millions of pounds in bonuses to executives. The vote was not binding. A spokesperson said the executive team would collect their awards in full. The chief executive, David Potts, and his two most senior managers will receive £9 million in pay and bonuses. Potts will collect his full £1.7 million bonus, bringing his total pay packet to £4.2 million. Only 30 percent of votes at the company’s meeting were in favour of the payouts.



Time up for bosses

A TORY MP has been fined after his puppy caused a stampede when it chased a 200-strong herd of deer in London’s Richmond Park.

Danny Kruger admitted losing control of his 11 month old Jack Russell, Pebble, during a walk with his family. He pled guilty to causing or permitting an animal to chase or worry another animal in a royal park.

Millions face retirement with not enough to live on

FIVE MILLION older workers face a retirement crisis as they will fall short of an “adequate” income once they leave work, an industry report has warned.

More than 90 percent of private sector workers with “defined contribution” pensions will not be able to afford an “adequate” standard of living.

They will pay out less than workers expect.

Millions of over-50s could be pushed into poverty and financial insecurity, a situation that has been worsened by the pandemic.

The report, which was sponsored by the charity Centre for Ageing



Too little for ‘adequate’ life

Better, warned a low state pension and increasing unemployment were key factors that would leave a quarter of those approaching retirement without enough.

A large number of over-55s were forced into leaving work early during the pandemic.

Redundancies have been higher for older workers throughout the Covid-19 crisis.

The 25 US richest pay just a pittance in tax

THE RICHEST 25 people in the US—including Jeff Bezos, Elon Musk and Warren Buffett—paid as little as 3.4 percent of their gains in wealth in tax between 2014 and 2018.

An investigation by US news organisation ProPublica into the tax returns of the 25 found their net worth rose by £282.77 billion in those years.

They paid a total of £9.62 billion in federal income taxes in the same period.

Internal Revenue Service data shows Amazon founder Bezos paid no federal taxes in 2007, or in 2011 when he instead

received a £2,800 tax credit for his children.

Bezos’ wealth grew by £70 billion in the four-year period, but he paid 0.98 percent of it in tax.

Buffett paid £16.7 million in taxes between 2014 and 2018 on a reported income of £88 million.

Yet Buffett’s wealth grew by £17.1 billion—giving him a “true tax rate” of 0.1 percent.

He is currently worth £67 billion.

And Tesla owner Musk, now worth some £106 billion, paid 3.27 percent.

US tax laws do not treat increases in wealth from assets in the same way as wealth from wages.

Big dividends follow grab of furlough cash

THE MAJOR construction equipment rental firm, VP plc plans to shower its shareholders with millions of pounds. This is the same company that pocketed a fortune from the furlough scheme.

VP claimed £7 million from the jobs retention scheme that it used until October 2020.

At the peak, bosses furloughed up to 1,000 workers.

Construction News website says VP will pay out £10 million to shareholders.

It’s one in a long line of companies taking state aid and then handing wads of cash to shareholders.



Chief executive Neil Stothard

In April JD Sports said it would pay out nearly £15 million in dividends.

But it has not offered to return any of the coronavirus-related help it grabbed.

That included about £38 million of rates relief.

MPs have waited for businesses to “act responsibly”.

But there is no legislation forcing profitable companies to repay the cash that was handed out.

Chief executive of VP, Neil Stothard says the furlough scheme “did what it was meant to do” and saved jobs.

However, VP sacked 160 workers and failed to refill 119 vacant positions during the year.

VP includes brands such as Brandon Hire Station and HS.

It made the dividend announcement as it revealed a £2.3 million pre-tax loss for the year.

But this was only because it had to pay a big fine. In December last year the Competition and Markets Authority fined Groundforce, which is owned by VP, £11.2 million.

This was for “anti-competitive practices” between 2011 and 2016.

With the fine and other one-off items excluded, VP reported a pre-tax profit of around £12.8 million.

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Morgan verdict as damning 'as the Macpherson report'

by SIMON BASKETTER

THE METROPOLITAN Police is "institutionally corrupt". That is the condemning conclusion of an eight-year inquiry into a notorious murder case.

The independent panel examining the 1987 killing of Daniel Morgan, a private investigator, criticised a number of officers linked to the case.

The Met owe Daniel Morgan's family, and the public, an apology for not confronting its systemic failings and those of individual officers, the panel's report said.

The Met's first objective was to "protect itself" for failing to acknowledge its many flaws since Daniel Morgan's murder, panel chair Baroness Nuala O'Loan said.

The murder of Morgan is the most investigated case in British history. But despite five investigations no one has been brought to justice.

The panel found "multiple very significant failings" during the initial Met Police investigation.

Involved

A second probe by Hampshire Constabulary "did not pursue, to the fullest extent possible, evidence that serving or former police officers were involved" in the murder.

There was evidence of "a culture" within the Met that allowed "very close association" between police officers investigating the murder and "individuals linked to crime".

The Met was condemned for its culture which "still exists that inhibits both organisational and individual accountability" in the 1,251-page report into the murder.

O'Loan denounced the efforts of the Met to initially withhold evidence from the inquiry and to delay.

It took seven years to gain offsite access to the police computer files on the case.

The last document was only given



ALASTAIR MORGAN (right), the brother of Daniel Morgan, speaking to the media following the publication of the panel report

PICTURE: KIRSTY O'CONNOR/ALAMY

to the panel in March this year. Met police commissioner Cressida Dick was specifically criticised for these delays.

The panel examined connections between private investigators, police officers and journalists. It found these relations to be corrupt.

The report denounces the relationships between senior police and Rupert Murdoch's empire.

O'Loan said the institutional corruption verdict was as important as the Macpherson report finding of institutional racism in the Met over the Stephen Lawrence case.

Daniel's brother Alastair was asked whether Cressida Dick should

consider resigning. He responded, "Absolutely she should."

The family's solicitor Raju Bhatt added, "The panel found the institutionalised corruption that they found is a current problem in the present tense."

"The current leadership in the Met has to take responsibility for that continuing."

A family statement said, "As Daniel's family, we became aware of the police corruption at the heart of this matter within three weeks of the murder—we said so then, and we had to say so repeatedly over the decades since the murder."

"It was not until 2011, over 24 years after Daniel's murder, that the

Metropolitan Police finally admitted that their investigations of this crime had been crippled by police corruption.

"And it was not until 2013, over 26 years after the murder, that any politician of authority in central government had the courage to take the first step towards dealing with the implications of that admitted police corruption."

"We say this to the current hierarchy in the Metropolitan Police."

"You have to stop protecting those who came before you; those who—at best—deliberately turned away from the stench of police corruption."

>>> See pages 10&11

Firms exposed in tax scandal

SERCO AND G4S have been forced to examine the recruitment agencies they use to provide workers for the NHS test and trace system. This follows tax avoidance accusations.

Outsourcing company Serco passed information about some of its suppliers to HM Revenue and Customs after evidence surfaced that agency staff were paid through "mini-umbrella companies".

These companies are often used to dodge national insurance contributions.

The Tories have used a network of private

companies to carry out work in the test and trace system.

Umbrella companies avoid some £4.5 billion through tax fraud, at a cost to workers.

And HR GO, a supplier to G4S, put workers employed by multiple third-party companies onto its own payroll after more reports.

G4S said in 2016 it would remove suppliers who did not follow its code of conduct. But it still worked with the company throughout the latest scandal. Serco said its investigations were ongoing.

Serco protest

More black women are pushed into zero hours

BLACK AND minority ethnic (BAME) women are almost twice as likely to be on zero hours contracts than white men, and one and a half times more likely than white women.

The TUC union federation has warned that BAME women are trapped by zero hours contracts, low pay and insecure work.

One in six zero hour contract workers are BAME, despite BAME workers making up one in nine workers overall.

Some 2.5 percent of white men were on zero hour contracts for the last three months of 2020, compared with 4.1 percent of BAME men.

BAME women were at 4.5 percent and white women 3.2 percent.

And 40 percent of BAME workers on insecure

Contract fight at Facebook

contracts said they faced the threat of losing their shifts if they turned down work. In comparison 25 percent of white workers faced the same threat.

Half of insecure BAME workers have been allocated a shift at less than a day's notice.

And half had a shift cancelled with less than a day's notice.

Bosses win out from using these contracts and from racist divisions. Workers need to fight together for secure contracts and proper pay and conditions.

Meanwhile the employment rate for women declined by 0.8 percent since the start of the pandemic, compared to 2.4 percent for men, according to the Resolution Foundation.

However, working mothers' working hours were down by a quarter. One in five mothers adjusted their working patterns to look after children.

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Protesters confront failing G7 leaders in Cornwall

The G7 summit last weekend brought together the world's biggest crooks. **Sophie Squire** reports from Cornwall on the event and the protests against the world leaders

PROTESTERS RAGED at the G7 world leaders' summit in Cornwall last Friday and Saturday at the start of a weekend of resistance.

People were furious that rulers are making climate change worse, supporting the racist state of Israel and presiding over a world of mass poverty.

Protests brought different campaigns together to fight in unity against the crooks at the G7.

Around 1,000 people protested on Gyllyngvase beach in Falmouth on Saturday.

And around 300 protesters called for solidarity with international struggles at a rally organised by the Resist G7 coalition at South Quay in Hayle.

They included Palestinian and Kashmiri activists. Abdeen from the Palestinian Centre in the UK told Socialist Worker he travelled from Birmingham to demand that G7 states stop supporting Israel.

"I'm here to stand shoulder to shoulder to support justice in Palestine," he said.

"Building protests like this is important. I am proud that my children were also protesting for Palestine in London at the same time."

Muhammed was one of the many protesters who travelled to Cornwall to protest against India's continued occupation of Kashmir. He told Socialist Worker, "These leaders are the ones who are sanctioning and supporting the supply of weapons to India and of course to Israel."

Kate Hudson, national secretary of Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, told the crowd that while the G7 had their "love in" the world continues to burn.

"Boris Johnson is saying he's

going to solve all the issues, but whose issues? The economic crisis has really been brought about by all of these countries," she said.

The protest then marched from South Quay to Hayle beach. From the cliff it is possible to see the five star hotel in Carbis Bay where the leaders of G7 were staying.

Chants about Palestine included, "One, two, three, four occupation no more."

Protesters also highlighted the climate crimes of the G7 countries' leaders. Their subsidies to fossil fuels hit some £71 billion a year.

Campaigners demanded that the interests of the planet come before those of billionaires and the media they own.

Issue

Fliss from the Campaign Against Climate Change trade union group told Socialist Worker, "The climate crisis isn't a separate issue.

"The G7 is a great place for world leaders to work out how they can carve up the planet's resources. It's also a great place for them to come to their agreements ahead of the Cop26 summit in November."

On Friday around 100 people gathered on the beach in Falmouth for a protest organised by climate group Fridays for Future.

The protesters marched through the town and blocked the entrances to the local media. More than 500 Extinction Rebellion activists also assembled in St Ives.

These mass mobilisations exposed the crimes of the G7.

This should be an inspiration for mobilisations that are being planned at the Cop26 climate talks in Glasgow in November.

EXTINCTION REBELLION protest in Cornwall last week targets the G7 'climate criminals'

PICTURE: BRISTOL XR

The G7 vaccine 'plan' is a death sentence for the world's poorest

by **YURI PRASAD**

THE G7 leaders' plan to donate coronavirus vaccines to low and middle-income countries is a sham.

At last weekend's summit Boris Johnson and Joe Biden presented themselves as global saviours, announcing they'd respectively offer up 500 million and 100 million doses to the world's poorest.

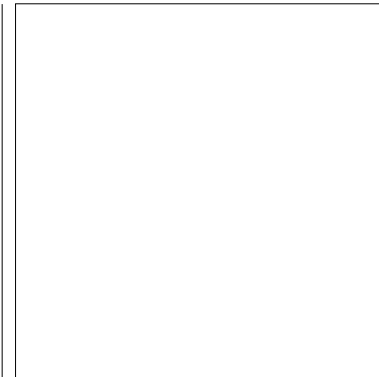
Overall the G7 committed to providing one billion doses of coronavirus jabs over the next year.

What terrible paucity of ambition.

The low-level plan will mean that over the course of the next 18 months millions more people, mostly in poorer countries, will be infected as they wait for vaccinations to arrive.

The World Health Organisation (WHO) had challenged the G7 leaders to commit to vaccinating at least 70 percent of the world's population by the time they meet again next year. The WHO said that would need 11 billion doses.

There will be no meaningful



Joe Biden and Boris Johnson

coverage until the end of next year—if then. Many will face serious illness and death because the health systems in their countries cannot cope.

But it does not have to be this way. Vaccinating the world far more quickly could happen if all the world's major economic powers came together with their resources.

It would mean abolishing all patents and intellectual property rights related to coronavirus vaccines and Covid-19 treatments.

Research by the charity Oxfam

shows that this would enable all of the world's developing countries to be vaccinated for just £4.6 billion.

But keeping the patents will mean the cost is a whopping £56 billion.

In addition, a global network of manufacturing sites for the most effective vaccines must be created.

With already some 4 million people dead, the cost of not acting could be horrendous. And the virus will be given space in which it can grow and continue to mutate into new, and potentially more dangerous, strains.

Britain's paltry offer of 500 million shots is a drop in the ocean. But the failure of world leaders to come together with a genuine global vaccination plan is not simply a reflection of our inept ruling classes.

It is a sign of just how warped the priorities of the G7's system are.

What really stands in the way of the emergency measures needed is neither lack of technology nor lack of resources.

It is the global system of capitalism that subordinates all life to the pursuit of profit. The G7 leaders lord over that.

Patel contacted top cops during XR media protests

HOME SECRETARY Priti Patel personally contacted the police as Extinction Rebellion (XR) activists blocked the production of right-wing newspapers last September.

The two blockades, one at a plant in Knowsley in Merseyside, and another in Broxbourne in Hertfordshire, were able to halt the distribution of 3.5 million newspapers across Britain.

Right wing newspapers such as The Sun, The Daily Telegraph and The Daily Mail all saw a delay in their distribution.

Trials of the 81 XR activists arrested at these protests have continued—with most being acquitted.

During the trial of six of the activists last week, the court heard that calls and texts between Patel and two senior police officers had been “lost”.

Chief Constable Charlie Hall and Assistant Chief Constable Matt Nicholls were both contacted

by Patel during the night of 5 September 2020. Neither noted down the conversation.

Hall made the excuse that his phone had been updated in the time between the XR action and the trials.

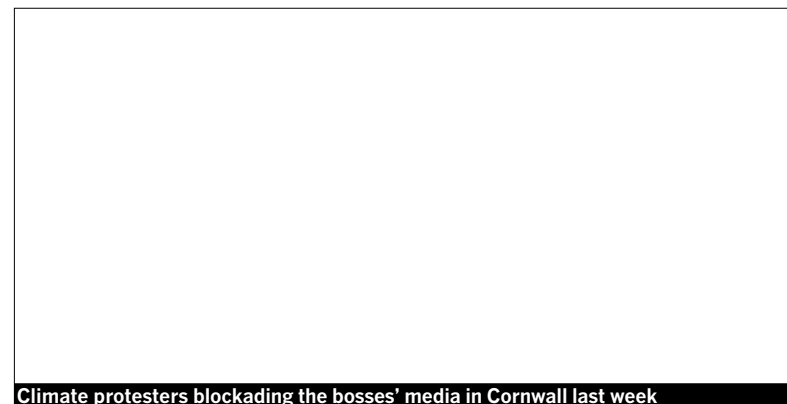
Significant

The lawyer for the six defendants Raj Chada said that because of significant contact and pressure from within the Home Office, the defendants would not receive a fair trial.

The court also heard that Patel had initially heard about the XR action from her “contacts in the media”.

Patel described the protesters as “so-called eco-crusaders turned criminals” and said the protests were “an attack on our free press”.

The trials of other XR activists involved in the blockade in September are set to continue for months.



Climate protesters blockading the bosses' media in Cornwall last week

Climate promises not enough

THE LEADERS at the G7 summit made a number of feeble climate promises that aren't anywhere near enough to address the climate crisis.

An agreement was made to put an end to coal fuel power stations that don't use carbon capture technology. But even with the application of carbon capture technology, burning coal will never

not add to global emissions.

The G7 also promised to hand £2 billion a year to poor countries to turn away from coal.

Assurances

US president Joe Biden made assurances that his country would stop burning coal altogether.

But he gave no indication of when this may happen.

Climate activists were also angry at the failure of the G7 to commit to directing funds to poor nations to help mediate the impact of climate change.

They said that the £100 billion a year that the G7 promised to developing countries in 2009—that wasn't met in 2020—falls short of what is needed.

Police targeted climate activists

ACTIVISTS in Extinction Rebellion (XR) and Animal Rebellion were heavily targeted by the police during protests at the G7 summit last weekend.

Police raided a campsite where an offshoot from Animal Rebellion was staying.

An activist with the group said that 60 police arrived at

the camps with dogs on Saturday.

During the raid the police found spray paint and scaffolding which led them to arrest 15 activists on conspiracy to create public nuisance charges. They were held in custody overnight.

Seven arrests were also made from XR protesters that had smoke grenades and

loudhailers in their car.

One activist said the cops seemed to be “trying to find something wrong” with the cars carrying protesters.

The crackdown on XR and Animal Rebellion in Cornwall is a stark reminder of the kind of powers the police will have if the Tories' policing bill goes through.

Socialist Worker WHAT WE THINK

STARMER DRIVES PEOPLE AWAY FROM LABOUR

THERE WAS more evidence this week that Keir Starmer is both alienating and repulsing sections of people who previously supported Labour.

A survey conducted by the Labour Muslim Network in partnership with Survation found 37 percent of Muslims became “more unfavourable” towards Labour over the past year.

This coincides with Starmer replacing Jeremy Corbyn as leader in April 2020.

The Labour Party as a whole still has a strong net favourability rating among British Muslims of 42 percent.

But Starmer's leadership has seen the party's favourability drop by 7 percent.

The Labour Muslim Network said, “Muslim voters are sending us a clear message—our votes and support should not be taken for granted and must be earned.”

Muslim voters generally approved of Corbyn's policies. They liked his opposition to austerity, his call to rein in the rich, his years of Palestine and anti-war activism and his firm stance against racism.

Starmer repudiated that vision. He described the Black Lives

Matter protests as merely a “moment not a movement”. He repeatedly refused to denounce Israeli terror.

And he offered only “constructive opposition” as the Tories' handling of the Covid-19 pandemic took 150,000 lives.

Very few Labour-leaning Muslim voters are likely to back a more right wing party. But they do have the option of staying at home or looking for a party that claims to be more radical.

Muslims aren't the only group of people turning from Labour. Younger people are also repulsed by the prospect of voting for the party.

A YouGov poll last week

“
The Labour party's crisis goes much deeper than just Sir Keir

showed that support for Labour among 18-24 year olds is down to 35 percent. That is a fall of 21 percent since 2019.

The Green Party's popularity has grown by 23 percent since 2019 among the same group.

People in that age group have seen austerity and ferocious climate change throughout their lives.

They have very little hope of finding a decent job, secure accommodation or a better future than their parents. And Labour offers no way forward.

Starmer's rotten right wing politics are a problem. But Labour's crisis goes much deeper than Sir Keir.

Labour-style parties are under pressure or have been marginalised across Europe. The social democratic promise is of sharing the proceeds of capitalist growth a bit more fairly.

That's empty as the system faces crisis after crisis.

The answer is not simply the removal of Starmer, or a better leader.

Instead we need a politics that rests on struggle from below and a revolutionary socialist alternative to a toxic system.

TORIES RAMP UP RACISM

>>continued from front page refusing to condemn the booing. Now he says he wants to see fans “cheering and not booing” the England team.

This isn't because Johnson has suddenly become an anti-racist. He wants a nationalistic wave of pride.

He does the jolly England fan down the pub image. But Patel is there to reassure the racists that the Tories haven't gone soft.

The Tories' ramped up racism is also influencing the far right. Tommy Robinson is trying to

relaunch his busted and hateful politics.

He is reportedly planning to intervene in the Batley and Spen by-election.

This is the former seat of Jo Cox, murdered in 2016 by Thomas Mair. He shouted “Britain First” during the fatal attack.

Robinson is set to hold a campaign day for election candidate Jayda Fransen, former acting leader of the Britain First fascist group, on 26 June.

These are dangerous times. But

the racists can be resisted. The Black Lives Matter movement and the widespread revulsion at the Tory assaults gives hope.

A refugee camp in Wales has been shut down, plans to build more detention centres have been scrapped and the Tories are on the back foot over Kent's Napier Barracks.

Anti-racists can win, and a united fight against racism is crucial in the coming battles. The Stand Up To Racism movement has never been more relevant.

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ANALYSIS

ALEX CALLINICOS



Tories bank on Brexit divides in Ireland

WHY DID the Northern Ireland protocol to the Brexit agreement between Britain and the European Union figure so large at the G7 summit in Cornwall?

Winston Churchill famously complained about how, at the end of the First World War, “as the deluge subsides and waters fall, we see the dreary steeples of Fermanagh and Tyrone emerging once again.”

This remark is typical of the hypocrisy of the British ruling class, as Kieran Allen shows in his excellent new book *32 Counties*.

They despise the Protestant Loyalists in the north of Ireland as their social inferiors, but use them to keep Ireland and its working class divided. Boris Johnson is no different in this from his hero Churchill.

But Brexit may mark the beginning of the end. The latest war caused by the partition of Ireland was ended by the 1998 Good Friday agreement.

This then promoted power-sharing between Loyalist and nationalist parties in the North, and closer economic links between the two parts of Ireland facilitated by the European Union membership of both the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland.

Inevitably the Brexit referendum threw this arrangement into crisis. The Tory government interpreted the vote to leave as a break with the European single market. In the past, this might not have been a problem, with the kind of ad hoc arrangement that kept Switzerland economically close to—but politically independent of—the EU.

But the EU is driving to build hard borders around it. This is reflected by the expansion and militarisation of the Frontex border agency. But it isn't just about keeping migrants and refugees out.

The EU's chief success in recent decades has been the construction of the single market. This is now so large and attractive that outside states have been prepared to accept Brussels' regulatory regime to gain access.

But the European Commission and leading EU member states are terrified that Britain's departure will undermine this regime. It might allow firms based here to undercut those in the EU. This made a hard Brexit more or less inevitable.

Alternatives

But everyone agreed that there could be no return to a hard border in Ireland. This left two alternatives. The whole of the UK could effectively stay in the single market and subject itself to the supervision of the Commission and the European Court of Justice.

Theresa May, Johnson's predecessor, accepted this in the original Withdrawal Agreement struck in November 2018.

But this was much hated by Johnson and the Tory right. After he had replaced May, Johnson opted to keep the North of Ireland in the single market, which meant a hard border between the six counties and the rest of the UK.

In doing this Johnson ditched the dominant Loyalist party, the Democratic Unionists, who oppose anything that sets Northern Ireland apart from the rest of the UK. The protocol also made inevitable considerable disruption in trade between the North and Britain.

This is now visible in, for example, the so-called “sausage war”. This is about the EU requiring British chilled meats to be imported frozen into Northern Ireland.

Johnson now wants, in effect, to ditch the protocol. This is typical of his political style—to duck and dive, solving crises piecemeal and leaving the problems these solutions create for later.

The EU won't let him. Preserving the integrity of the single market is paramount—they've just pushed Switzerland into a Brexit-like economic break for the same reason.

But I don't think Johnson will back down. His only genuine principle seems to be sovereignty—reclaiming the autonomy of the British state from Brussels.

This leaves US president Joe Biden in a pickle. He was vice-president to Barack Obama, who opposed Brexit because Britain was a useful ally in the EU. But Britain remains a more reliable partner in US inter-imperialist rivalries with Russia and China than Germany, for example.

On the other hand, the US helped to broker the Irish peace and doesn't want to see it collapse.

Expect yet another Brexit car crash.



DEMONSTRATING FOR Palestine in London last Saturday

PICTURES: GUY SMALLMAN

Thousands demand justice for Palestine as the G7 meets up

by ISABEL RINGROSE

AROUND 8,000 protesters joined a rally outside Downing Street, in London, on Saturday to demand freedom for Palestine.

After the rally, the crowd marched to the Israeli embassy in west London.

The rally, held on the same weekend as the G7 met in Cornwall, called for sanctions on Israel and for an end to its occupation of Palestine.

Attendees were very young, radical and angry. Macy told *Socialist Worker* she was amazed “by the energy of the crowd”.

She said she joined the rally because of Israel's latest wave of violence against Palestinians in the occupied territories and within its official borders.

Bombarded

Israel last month bombarded Gaza with airstrikes for 11 days, killing over 250 people.

“The G7 are supposedly powerful people—but you don't need to be a rich, old, white man to have a political effect,” she said.

“Young people want to change things.”

Throughout the rally protesters waved Palestinian flags and lit flares in the flag's colours. A memorial was also set up to remember the children who were brutally killed by the Israeli airstrikes.

And loud chants of “From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free” and “Free, free Palestine” rang out.

A speaker for Friends of Al-Asqa, one of the groups who organised the protest, told the crowd, “We need to have a debate about sanctions. But we don't stop here.”

“We stand in solidarity with Palestinian people. We do not give up, we continue to campaign.”

Salina told *Socialist Worker* the mass movement



A memorial to Palestinian children killed by Israel

New Israeli prime minister, same hate

ISRAEL'S NEW prime minister Naftali Bennett will continue the brutal oppression of Palestinians.

The right wing nationalist has vowed to unite the country, adding that his leadership would “work for the sake of all the people”.

In truth this means uniting Israeli settlers by continuing a brutal reign over Palestinians.

Bennett has previously said, “I already have killed lots of Arabs in my life, and there is absolutely no problem with that.”

Bennett will replace Binyamin Netanyahu who led an agenda of racism and brutality for 12 years.

But he won't be any better, and has described himself as “more right wing” than his predecessor.

Oppression

Bennett's government will be formed from an unlikely coalition of parties, which will continue the oppression of Palestine.

Although this coalition includes liberal and green parties, their acceptance of Bennett shows their true agenda.

for Palestine, including a mobilisation of 180,000 in London last month, gave her “hope”.

“People protesting is power. It shows how many people know what the problem is,” she said.

“It shows we can't be silenced. And it puts the government under pressure. We're telling them to listen to the voice of the people.”

Rushdi said he was glad more people discuss Palestine. “People can't ignore Israel's actions anymore,” he said.

Another speaker, a British Palestinian student, slammed the complacency and inaction of the G7.

“They thought a ceasefire would make us forget Palestine. But our support will always be there.”

“We demand an end to all complicity with Israel,” she demanded.

Students will march on 9 July to back the Boycott, Divestment, Sanction (BDS) movement and call for an end to Israeli apartheid.

Amira explained to *Socialist Worker* that “the BDS movement is vital to raise awareness of what is coming out of Israel”.

“Boycotting its profits also hurts it financially,” she said. “Any solidarity with the Palestinian people shows we're serious.”

Protests also took place in other cities and towns around Britain.

Protesters demand that racist statue must fall

by SASHA SIMIC

MORE THAN 200 protesters demanded the removal of a statue of 17th century slaver Robert Geffrye at the Museum of the Home in east London, last Saturday.

It has stood over the building in Hackney since 1912.

Hackney Stand Up to Racism (HSUTR) organised two protests at the museum which was reopening after a three-year £18.1 million redevelopment.

One protest was at the new entrance of the museum—in what is still called Geffrye Street—when the museum opened its doors.

Another was held opposite the statue of the slavetrader at noon.

Geffrye made his fortune from his shares in the slave trade via the East India Company, the Royal African Company and the slave ship China Merchant.

Both demonstrations were addressed by Hackney MP Diane Abbott, Hackney Mayor Philip Glanville, Hackney's Deputy Mayor Antoinette Bramble, six Hackney councillors and one Islington councillor.

Black Lives Matter protesters toppled the statue of slaver Edward Colston in Bristol last June, prompting many institutions to reassess their own monuments to slavers.

Trustees of the Museum of the Home opened a public consultation along with Hackney council as to what should be done with their statue of Geffrye.

Opinions

The vast majority of those who took part—over 71 percent—wanted the statue taken down.

But in late June 2020, the trustees announced they would not remove the statue as the issue was “a complex debate, full of nuance and different opinions.”

Tory culture minister Oliver Dowden insisted that “removing statues, artwork and other historical objects is not the right approach.”

The Tories, desperate to deflect attention from their failure over the coronavirus crisis, are fighting a “culture war”.

The campaign to retain the

BACK STORY

Robert Geffrye largely invested in the Atlantic slave trade, he also partially owned a slave ship.

- The Museum of the Home, formally the Geffrye Museum, continues to honour his legacy by displaying his statue on the building facade

- The museum asked the public their opinions of the statue in June 2020. Some 78 percent viewed it negatively

- In July this year, the museum trustees decided to keep the statue of Robert Geffrye

Geffrye statue has become one of the frontlines in their battle.

It is part of a divide and rule strategy in which they are actively promoting racism.

Home secretary Priti Patel's draconian police bill proposes giving up to ten-year jail sentences to anyone convicted of damaging monuments to slavers.

Slaver

Some 30 statues and other memorials to slavers have been removed from public view since Colston fell.

They include the statue of the 18th century slaver Robert Milligan from the Museum of London Docklands and the bust of Hans Sloane from The British Museum.

The government has decided to make a stand over Geffrye's statue.

And for all the talk of “retain and explain”, the museum opened with the statue of Geffrye looking exactly as it looked last year. There is nothing to indicate that the periwigged and frock-coated figure was a monster who profited from slavery.

If the #GeffryeMustFall campaign wins, it will inflict a serious blow to the government's racist agenda.

But that will mean building a bigger campaign.

HSUTR activist Dean Ryan promised on Saturday that we'll be back until the cry “Geffrye Must Fall” is replaced with the victorious chant that “Geffrye has fallen!”.



More on line

For more on slavery and resistance go to socialistworker.co.uk



LISTENING TO speakers at the Museum of the Home in Hackney, east London, last week

PICTURE: DEAN RYAN

Grenfell Tower—four years, still no justice

THE FOURTH anniversary of the Grenfell Tower Fire that killed 72 people on 14 June 2017 saw commemorations on Monday despite the Covid-19 restrictions.

A socially distanced silent walk for people local to North Kensington took place on Monday evening. Events also took place in some other parts of Britain.

The inquiry into the fire is currently investigating the council, the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea (RBKC), and its tenant management organisation (TMO).

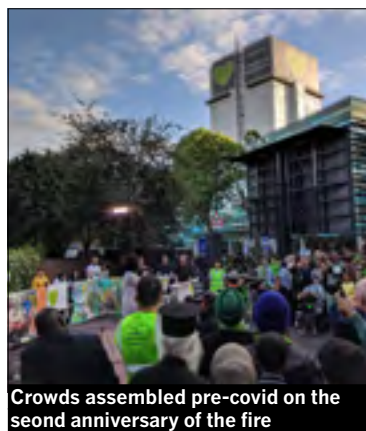
Failures to act on professional fire safety advice and ignoring complaints from residents who were labelled “rebels” have already been revealed.

Private banker Quentin Marshall, chair of RBKC's housing scrutiny committee, told the inquiry, “I think we lacked a little humanity. We could have done better.”

Yet he had dismissed residents' complaints about refurbishment works that took place from 2014-2016 as “grossly exaggerated”.

“We're spending £100k per flat of public money to improve the building,” Marshall wrote in March 2016. “I'm therefore not massively sympathetic to general ‘It's all terrible’ complaints.”

RBKC spent £10 million



Crowds assembled pre-covid on the second anniversary of the fire

refurbishing Grenfell Tower. But some £300,000 was saved by switching to flammable cladding—which ultimately cost 72 lives.

The London Fire Brigade (LFB) also warned Nicholas Paget-Brown, the leader of the council, that refurbishments could risk fire safety and cause deaths.

Yet he did not pass this on to housing officials responsible for the works.

Asked at the inquiry if there was anything he would do differently, Paget-Brown shifted the blame.

He said councils should be running housing directly and not through “arm's length” organisations like the TMO. And he said the flammable cladding

“is a systemic failure”. That's all true, but it doesn't get the council off the hook.

Some 64 percent of the flats in Grenfell had broken or missing self-closing devices on fire doors, which contributed to the deadly spread of smoke.

And Grenfell's ventilation system had also not been fixed despite warnings from the LFB.

Carl Stokes, the fire risk assessor hired to check the safety of Grenfell, also put letters after his name to suggest professional qualifications that did not exist, or he did not have.

Mobility

Residents with serious mobility issues were not given evacuation plans to aid their escape.

When asked by the LFB for a list of vulnerable residents in 2012, Stokes advised the TMO to say “nobody”.

Recommendations from phase one of the ongoing inquiry into the fire have not been implemented. Four years later, thousands are still living in buildings with flammable cladding.

The negligence of RBKC, the TMO and the Tories was remembered on the anniversary, along with their 72 victims.

There is still no justice, so there can be no peace.

Isabel Ringrose



Big protests against racism and fascism in France

French president Macron's further rightward shift gives confidence to fascists. A movement against Marine Le Pen is urgent, says **Charlie Kimber**

TENS OF thousands of people marched across France on Saturday against racism, the far right and the government's assaults on liberties.

Organisers said some 140 demonstrations took place totalling 150,000 protesters. In Paris, they said, 70,000 took to the streets.

In an important development, the protests were called by all the major union federations and all the parties of the left. As well as many anti-racist, environmental and LGBT+ groups.

A rise in support for the fascist Marine Le Pen, combined with president Emmanuel Macron's government moving further right, are giving confidence to racists and fascists in France.

Martine, a teacher, told Socialist Worker, "It was good to be on the streets of Paris openly opposing the fascists. There is usually a fear about doing that."

"There were quite a lot of trade unionists and political groups. But we need to be bigger. It cannot be a single event."

Alarming

The statement launching the march said, "For months now, we have observed an alarming political and social climate."

"It's no longer thought off-limits to ally with the extreme right or to take up its ideas. Racist and sexist words and acts in the workplace and in life are spreading."

"Several freedom-killing laws point towards an authoritarian society of surveillance and control. Some of these laws stigmatise part of the population because of their religion, others target them because of their militant activity."

Le Pen is neck and neck with Macron in polls for next year's presidential election. Both are polling 25-30 percent.

BACK STORY

Huge anti-racist protests were held across France last Saturday

● Organisers claimed 150,000 people took part. The ministry of the interior says the figure was just 37,000.

● The most recent poll for next year's presidential vote put both fascist Le Pen and neoliberal Macron at 28 percent.

● Islamophobia and racism from mainstream parties has strengthened Le Pen's appeal.

Macron is deeply unpopular for his attacks on workers' living standards and his handling of Covid-19.

The left has not, in general, harnessed this feeling. So Le Pen's RN party grabs big portions of it—making it a real danger.

The government's disastrous response is to adapt to the fascists. It has reeled out Islamophobic and anti-protest laws.

It has closed down the CCIF Muslim right's group, pushed through a separatism law that targets Muslims, and wants to strengthen police powers.

The laws are so harsh that the Council of State said they had gone too far. Rather than diluting Le Pen's appeal, the government's moves suggest she is right. And Le Pen then demands even harsher measures.

It's right to fight Le Pen, state racism and the laws that destroy liberties. But there also needs to be a movement specifically targeting Le Pen.

If she wins next year it could encourage far right street movements against Muslims, migrants, black people and the left.

An anti-fascist united front is urgent.

BANNER LEADING the anti-racist march in Paris last weekend reads, "For our freedoms and against the ideas of the extreme right"

PICTURE: PHOTOTHEQUE ROUGE/MARTIN NODA /HANS LUCAS

ALGERIA

Election boycott shakes ruling regime

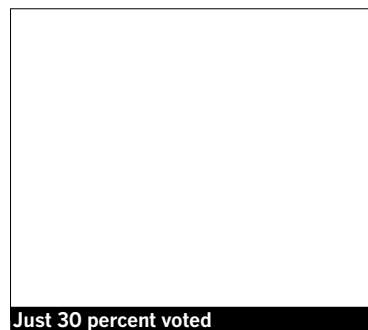
MILLIONS OF people in Algeria, north Africa, boycotted elections held on Saturday as a sign of their continuing opposition to the ruling regime.

Pro-government parties had urged people to turn up in large numbers for the "crucial vote".

The opposition Hirak movement had called for a boycott because of continuing repression and denial of political rights. Seven Harak leaders were arrested on Thursday.

In the Kabylie region, riot police guarded polling stations where protests forced some voting centres to close early.

Turnout was just 30 percent, the lowest in at least 20 years



Just 30 percent voted

for legislative elections. It was the first legislative election since protests in 2019 forced former president Abdelaziz Bouteflika from office after a 20-year rule.

Real power remains with the armed forces.

Hirak has urged boycotts of all national polls since 2019.

The movement returned to the streets in February after reducing protests for a year because of coronavirus. It has survived a campaign of arrests and a constitutional referendum partly aimed at burying it.

But the government recently stepped up its crackdown against Hirak. It blocked protests and arrested hundreds of activists who defied restrictions on public gatherings.

The strength of the boycott underlines the support for real change.

PERU

Castillo retreats as he wins the election

THE RIGHT is claiming fraud in Peru's recent election where former school teacher, Pedro Castillo won presidential elections held earlier this month.

By Monday it was clear that Castillo had gained over half the votes, with a 50.14 percent share.

The announcement of who would become

president was yet to be made. Keiko Fujimori's Popular Force party has contested 200,000 votes.

Yet no serious irregularities have been identified by the Organisation of American States, which monitored the election.

As the prospect of a Castillo presidency approaches, he has begun

to assure the bosses that he will provide safety for profits. There is no sign that Castillo will implement a wealth tax.

Pedro Francke, a top adviser to Castillo said, "We are going to scrupulously respect private property."

Castillo also made promises to redraft Peru's constitution. Francke

made it clear that a rewrite would maintain Peru's central bank.

If Castillo becomes president workers must mobilise in their own interests.

Sophie Squire

On other pages...
Peru: a radical history of resistance >>> **Pages 14 & 15**

Palestine solidarity in schools

THE OUTPOURING of solidarity with Palestine is feeding a challenge to the long chill exerted by the establishment through antisemitism allegations.

School students have painted Palestinian flags in and out of art lessons, on their bodies, and on school property.

They have worn badges, held solidarity protests and demanded to be heard in the classroom.

Head teachers are floundering. Letters and meetings assure parents that schools are places where self-expression is encouraged in a safe environment where all views can be respected.

Except many of those parents and students know this is not the case.

Prevent has targeted Muslim pupils for years. Mainstream media overwhelmingly reference Muslims as being involved with violence, conflict, and terrorism.

Education secretary Gavin Williamson's letter expressing concern with the rise in antisemitism and directing heads to use Solutions Not Sides, and Education Against Hate—Prevent—is not going unchallenged.

But schools are conservative institutions. I suspect we will have to rely on students to keep challenging the dominant biased narrative in standing up for Palestine.

It is vitally important socialists support them all the way.

Miriam Scharf
East London



Why sexual harassment of young women is normalised

I WASN'T surprised by the latest report describing the scale of sexual harassment faced by young women. No young woman would have been.

The report from education inspectorate Ofsted said harassment was the norm, the expected experience.

If you want to get a sense of what people face again and again go to the Everyone's Invited website.

There are so many testimonies of how young people are treated in horrible ways and it damages them for a long time, perhaps forever.

At my school, there are boys who touch girls, leer at them and make "jokes" about them. And nobody does anything about it. Am

I making this up? Look at what Ofsted said. Nine in ten of the young women they surveyed said they or their close friends were often sent explicit images or faced sexist name-calling.

Commonplace experiences included being repeatedly asked for nude images or harassed with "rape jokes".

And it also found there was little official response, let alone a plan to deal with it.

Students spoke of teachers not "knowing the reality" of their lives. The report found schools "consistently underestimate" sexual harassment, and fell short in providing adequate education on relationships and sex.

One girl quoted in the report said, "It shouldn't be our

responsibility to educate boys."

I'm sure there could be better ways of teaching about sex and consent and relationships at school. Openness and honesty would be a start.

But there's something much wider going wrong. Didn't we learn a few weeks ago that fewer than one in 60 rape cases recorded by the police last year resulted in a suspect being charged?

Aren't women, especially young women, sexualised all the time in the media? Didn't the police attack women and men remembering Sarah Everard's murder?

I want change. But I'm scared enough I can't even sign this with my real name.

'Ali'
London

Footballers taking the knee has to be political

IT'S GREAT to see so many people opposing those who booed footballers taking the knee.

But we need to be careful of the arguments.

Some people say it's OK to take the knee because it's not political.

They say it's just a "moment of unity" or something.

If that's true it's meaningless.

Anti-racism is definitely political.

We should be proud to say it is and it targets racists everywhere—

including in governments.

And I don't agree with England manager Gareth Southgate that we are necessarily "heading for a much more tolerant and understanding society".

Perhaps we are, and certainly Black Lives Matter has opened up discussions that lots of people want closed.

But there are big battles ahead and that includes fighting the rotten culture that is often put forward as "Englishness".

Sue Bowes
Birmingham

Outrageous students? Bullingdon Club

TORIES ARE getting very angry about Oxford students voting to remove a portrait of the queen from their common room.

Members of Magdalen College rightly deemed the image a symbol of "recent colonial history".

But education secretary Gavin Williamson branded the move as "simply absurd".

Wait until he hears about the Bullingdon Club.

That was the elite Oxford students' set that Boris Johnson, former prime minister David Cameron, and former chancellor George Osborne were members of. One student

claimed that his friend was allowed to join, but only if he set fire to a £50 note in front of a homeless man.

Club members smashed up restaurants, pubs and university buildings. But they could get away with their crimes by paying off their victims.

This club encapsulates all the most disgusting arrogance and class privilege of the public schools.

Yet the Tories seem to think the real problem is students who want to make a gesture against colonialism and racism.

They just wanted to make their living space

welcoming to all.

Let's hope Johnson and his mates go the same way as the portrait of the queen.

Simon Scott
Manchester

Just a thought...

Johnson bad, Thunberg good

GRETA Thunberg sailed from Europe to the United States to attend a conference. It was a solid example of keeping down emissions.

Boris Johnson flew from London to Cornwall for a conference. It was a solid example that he doesn't give a damn about the climate change.

Leah Murphy
by email

Case to lift fox hunt ban

NORMALLY, I'D oppose fox hunting.

However, every time Lawrence Fox opens his filthy mouth I feel compelled to support the lifting of the ban.

John Curtis
Ipswich

Call to break law is ignored

ANDREW Lloyd Webber has said he is determined to open his theatres on 21 June, even if he risks arrest.

Imagine if it was a black musician saying the same. Prosecution might follow.

Carlton Lewis
Glasgow

Bioweapons— a threat to all

GOVERNMENTS may not be telling the whole truth about coronavirus.

Remember the lies which led to the Iraq war. We were told of "Weapons of Mass Destruction", "bioweapons laboratories on wheels" and so on.

The mayhem from Britain, the US and Nato led to a fear of bioterrorism in the US.

Labs sprung up all over for "biodefence" handling dangerous pathogens.

Other governments followed suit. As with nuclear weapons, the global defence elite puts all of us in great danger.

Nigel Norman
East London

Maths of Tory school spend

CATCH-UP funding for each pupil in England whose education was disrupted by Covid-19 is £50. It's £1,600 in the US and £2,500 in the Netherlands. Enough said.

Margaret Peterson
Newcastle

COVER-UP!

How the state helped hide the truth about the murder of Daniel Morgan by Simon Basketter

DANIEL MORGAN was murdered beside his car at the back of the Golden Lion pub in Sydenham, south east London, in 1987. He had met his business partner Jonathan Rees for a drink.

His killing came a week after Morgan revealed that he was taking allegations of police corruption to the News of the World. After that it gets complicated.

Despite five police investigations, no one has ever been convicted of his murder.

The police have admitted corruption in the initial investigation.

The evidence boxes in Scotland Yard emit a stench reaching to the highest levels.

Although his watch was missing, Morgan's wallet was not, and there was more than £1,000 in cash in his jacket.

On the other hand his trouser pocket had been torn open and there was no sign of notes he had been writing in the pub.

Three years before his murder he

had set up a private investigation company, Southern Investigations, with Jonathan Rees.

The Golden Lion in Sydenham was a regular drinking haunt for Rees and for the Catford police officers he paid for information, and occasionally for jobs.

An independent panel has been investigating the case for eight years and was expected to publish its report this week.

The panel, which was appointed by then home secretary Theresa May in 2013, was asked to carry out a "full and effective review of corruption as it affected the handling of this case".

On the night of the murder Detective Superintendent Douglas Campbell, the officer in charge of the investigation, had been drinking.

He turned up at the crime scene drunk, and allegedly the first thing he did on his arrival was to get the pub landlord to open a bottle of Scotch.

DANIEL Morgan (above) was murdered in south London in 1987. He was about to go public with shocking allegations of police corruption involving major organised crime groups

Second in charge was Detective Alan Jones (see below). The following day Detective Sergeant Sid Fillery, a member of the Serious and Organised Crime squad based at Catford Police station, joined the investigation.

He was a close friend and regular drinking companion of Rees.

Fillery had been drinking with Morgan and Rees in the Golden Lion on the night before the murder. He took Rees's witness statement.

Southern Investigations had a debt to a security customer—Belmont Cars Auctions.

The firm had a contract to bank the takings from Belmont's twice weekly car auctions.

Rees had been attacked and robbed of £18,280.62 of Belmont's cash in March the previous year.

That robbery was probably a put up job and carried out by two Catford police officers.

Campbell arrested Fillery, and two other cops from Catford Police Station.

Rees and his two brothers in law, Glenn and Garry Vian, were also arrested and questioned under caution about the murder.

Fillery, who had been at the Belmont Auction with Rees on the day he was robbed, visited Southern Investigations office the day after the murder, and left with the Belmont file.

Campbell concluded there was insufficient evidence to support a prosecution. All six suspects were released.

After a second police inquiry in 1988 came to nothing Sid Fillery retired from the police and became, as planned, Rees's new partner in Southern Investigations.

Bent cops played and then new

ANTI-CORRUPTION COPS placed a covert listening device inside Jonathan Rees's office in 1999.

Rees had been working for Fleet Street newspapers for several years and had pulled a network of corrupt sources around him.

Detective constable Tom Kingston collected cash for himself, and for a friend who was an intelligence officer protecting the royal family.

Kingston worked for the South East Regional Crime Squad. He sold Jonathan Rees a Special Branch report disclosing police knowledge of a crime gang in London.

He also sold him Police Gazette bulletins listing suspects who were wanted for arrest, and threat assessments in relation to the terrorist targets that his mate was supposed to be protecting.

Kingston ended up in prison for selling a huge quantity of amphetamines that he had stolen from a drug dealer.

Private investigators Duncan Hanrahan and Martin King, who worked with Rees for News International, were both jailed in relation to police corruption.

Rees made no secret of criminality. He told a Daily Mirror journalist to be careful what they wrote down "because what we're doing is illegal,



There have been five separate police investigations into the murder. No one has been convicted





anted drugs on people— /spapers splashed stories

isn't it?" He added, "I don't want people coming in and nicking us for a criminal offence, you know."

The newspaper "stings" went along these lines.

A cop would tell Southern that someone was dealing drugs. The investigations firm would then have drugs planted on someone or have someone try to buy drugs. The papers got an exclusive, the cops got an arrest and everyone got paid.

Indecent
Sid Fillery was convicted in 2004 of 15 counts of making indecent images of children and one count of possessing indecent images.

Rees was in 2000 convicted of trying to plant cocaine on a women on behalf of a client, But despite him receiving a seven-year sentence for attempting to pervert the course of justice The News of the



Andy Coulson—edited newspaper that hired Rees

TIMELINE

10 March 1987
Body of private eye Daniel Morgan is found at the Golden Lion pub in Sydenham, south London. Six people, including police officers, are arrested in connection with the murder. No charges are brought.

1988
Inquest returns verdict of unlawful killing. Police Complaints Authority announces inquiry into handling of case and first murder inquiry.

1989
Three people are arrested on suspicion of Morgan's murder, with two men being charged. Charges dropped.

1998-2000
Third police inquiry involves anti-corruption officers from Scotland Yard and Jonathon Rees is arrested for plotting to plant cocaine.

2002
Fourth inquiry involves Met Police. It offers evidence of murder but Crown Prosecution Service decides not to prosecute.

2005
Sir Ian Blair, then Met Commissioner, admits first inquiry was "compromised" by corruption and a fifth inquiry begins.

2008-09
Several arrested on suspicion of Morgan's murder. Trial starts. Jonathan Rees, and his brothers-in-law, Garry and Glenn Vian, are charged with murder. Fillery charged with conspiracy to pervert the course of justice

2011
Trial collapses when the Director of Public Prosecutions pulls the case due to allegations of witness coaching by detective chief inspector Cook.

2013
Theresa May, then home secretary, refuses to hold a public inquiry and instead sets up independent panel.

2017
Rees, Garry and Glenn Vian, and Fillery sue the Met for malicious prosecution.

Fillery wins part of his claim. The others lose. They win on appeal in 2019.

2021
The Panel reports its findings.

Cases linked by corruption

OPERATION TIBERIUS is a confidential police report from 2001 describing corruption in the Metropolitan Police.

The Met hid the report for over a decade. It uncovered "endemic police corruption linked to major organised crime".

Crooks were "able to infiltrate the police at will". It said, "Existing murder investigations have been compromised and sensitive intelligence has leaked from other organised crime investigations."

Gangster and police informant Kenneth Noye had many links to corrupt police officers. One of Noye's criminal associates was Clifford Norris.

Clifford is the father of David Norris—one of those convicted of the murder of black teenager Stephen Lawrence.

Noye's handler was a cop called Ray Adams. Adams was an investigator in the Lawrence murder.

Detective constable Alan Holmes was his friend, colleague and golfing partner. Holmes took money from south London gangsters.

Holmes had been working with

David Norris was convicted of the murder of black teenager Stephen Lawrence. His father, Clifford, associated with gangsters and corrupt police connected to the Daniel Morgan case

Daniel Morgan. They were about to expose claims of police corruption that involved passing information to the News of the World newspaper.

Holmes apparently killed himself in July 1987 during a corruption investigation into Adams. It was three months after the murder of Daniel Morgan.

The phone hacking connection

THE UNRESOLVED case of Daniel Morgan's murder looms over the phone hacking scandal.

Hacking exposed a world where journalists handed over wads of cash to police officers in return for information.

There is a clandestine network of con-men, bent coppers, corrupt civil servants and impersonators that are sub-contracted by private detectives. In the shadows are the people who do the dirty work for the establishment—former cops and

Rupert Murdoch-implicated

Met boss Cressida Dick set to face direct criticism

THE CURRENT boss of the Metropolitan Police, Dame Cressida Dick, was expected to be specifically criticised over Scotland Yard's obstruction to the panel inquiry.

The Metropolitan Police commissioner and other senior officers will be accused of delaying the inquiry by trying to control the disclosure of sensitive police documents.

Superintendent David Cook headed one police investigation into Morgan's murder. The News of the World put Cook and his wife Jacqui Hames, a former police officer, under surveillance on behalf of Southern Investigations.

A murder trial collapsed in 2011 after concerns about the police handling of "supergrass" witnesses and the Met's failure to disclose sensitive police files.

It was Cook's dubious coaching of witnesses, "noble cause" corruption as it is sometimes called, that undermined the prosecution.

Dick, then assistant commissioner, produced a joint report with the Crown Prosecution Service that detailed the

spies.

The cops' systematic use of bribery in order to leak information to frame some people and cover up the corruption of others is yet to be fully revealed.

Murdoch shut down the News of the World and numerous cases were settled out of court.

The Leveson public inquiry into hacking didn't even look at the relationship between the press and the cops.

failings in the case. When the panel

was first announced, she was made the liaison between it and the Met.

The panel inquiry was supposed to take a year. It has taken eight. That's partially because of the successful way that Dick did her job.

Cook is currently suing the Met and Johnathan Rees is suing Cook.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

These are the core politics of the Socialist Workers Party.

INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION

Under capitalism workers' labour creates all profit. A socialist society can only be constructed when the working class seizes control of the means of production and democratically plans how they are used.

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

The present system cannot be patched up or reformed as the established Labour and trade union leaders say.

It has to be overthrown. Capitalism systematically degrades the natural world. Ending environmental crisis means creating a new society.

THERE IS NO PARLIAMENTARY ROAD

The structures of the present parliament, army, police and judiciary cannot be taken over and used by the working class. They grew up under capitalism and are designed to protect the ruling class against the workers.

The working class needs an entirely different kind of state—a workers' state based upon councils of workers' delegates and a workers' militia.

At most parliamentary activity can be used to make propaganda against the present system.

Only the mass action of the workers themselves can destroy the system.

INTERNATIONALISM

The struggle for socialism is part of a worldwide struggle. We campaign for solidarity with workers in other countries.

We oppose everything which turns workers from one country against those from other countries.

We oppose racism and imperialism. We oppose all immigration controls.

We support the right of black people and other oppressed groups to organise their own defence. We support all genuine national liberation movements.

The experience of Russia demonstrates that a socialist revolution cannot survive in isolation in one country.

In Russia the result was state capitalism, not socialism.

In Eastern Europe and China a similar system was later established by Stalinist parties. We support the struggle of workers in these countries against both private and state capitalism.

We are for real social, economic and political equality of women.

We are for an end to all forms of discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.

We oppose discrimination against disabled people including those who experience mental distress.

We defend the right of believers to practise their religion without state interference.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To achieve socialism the most militant sections of the working class have to be organised into a revolutionary socialist party.

Such a party can only be built by activity in the mass organisations of the working class.

We have to prove in practice to other workers that reformist leaders and reformist ideas are opposed to their own interests.

We have to build a rank and file movement within the unions.

To join us, turn to page 16 or go to www.swp.org.uk or phone 020 7840 5602

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Booklaunch

SUPPORTERS OF independence reject Westminster rule

Breaking up the British state Scotland, Independence and Socialism

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Wed 23 June, 7.30pm
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NEWCASTLE

Wed 23 June, 7pm
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LONDON: HACKNEY

Thu 24 June, 7.30pm
854-8245-8715

MANCHESTER

Wed 23 June, 7.15pm
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SHEFFIELD & SOUTH YORKSHIRE

Thu 24 June, 7pm
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BIRMINGHAM

Neoliberal collapse and the growth of the far right

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Thu 24 June, 7.30pm
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Thu 24 June, 6.30pm
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CAMBRIDGE

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Thu 24 June, 7.30pm
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Marxism and religion—more than just opium?

Wed 23 June, 7.30pm
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Thu 24 June, 7pm
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Where does sexism come from?

Wed 23 June, 7.30pm
823-945-1917

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Thu 24 June, 7.30pm
865-2972-2883

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Sweet Tooth adds optimism to apocalyptic science fiction

In a crowded field, the lightness of this new Netflix series helps it to stand out. But themes of scapegoating mean it keeps its dark edge, says **Gabby Thorpe**

COVID-19 HAS guaranteed that viewing any kind of virus-themed dystopia is never going to be the same again.

But Netflix's adaptation of Jeff Lemire's post-apocalyptic graphic novel *Sweet Tooth* attempts a new spin on the classic trope.

It is set in a world where the H5G9 virus has wreaked havoc on humanity. At the same time, babies with animal features—known as hybrids—begin to be born.

The hybrids are scapegoated for the virus's emergence, and hunted as a result.

The main plot follows Gus, an older "deer type" hybrid who is looking for his mother after being hidden in the woods by his father for the first ten years of his life.

Following his father's death, he sets off across a newly ravaged US with Jeppard, a lone traveller.

Meanwhile, we are introduced to other characters trying to make their way in the new world. There's Rachel, a counsellor now living in a zoo, and Dr Singh who is struggling to survive after the virus killed his wife.

These sub-plots can be confusing at times, but all loose ends are neatly tied together.

Hunters

The show has the feel of zombie movies, as Gus and Jeppard meet other survivors and avoid hybrid hunters. But bright visuals and impressive CGI moves away from the darkness of the source material.

Instead, there is a fairy tale vibe. The show balances the grimmer aspects of dystopia with the optimism and innocence of Gus—played brilliantly by Christian Convey. In this way, *Sweet Tooth* is interesting as



'HYBRID' GUS journeys through a hostile world

it turns the conventions of the genre on their head. It opts to ditch the darkness and despair for something more optimistic.

While *Sweet Tooth* is definitely lighter than the original graphic novel, there are elements of bleakness. It has all the appearances of family friendly viewing, which sometimes lets you forget you're not watching a children's film.

But parts of the show are not for those who avoid the darker side of fantasy.

At times, some of Gus' encounters can seem trite.

Parts seem to drag a little. While Gus discovers life outside of isolation, some may find the origins of the hybrids more interesting.

It takes a while to get to the meatier parts of the story.

Fear

But the series is short and sweet enough to be worth it. And the fear and ignorance surrounding the existence of hybrids serves as a reminder of how little fuel some people need to take part in the oppression of others.

The premise maybe could have benefitted from a less individual storyline.

It would have been interesting to see more of the experiences of other hybrid children.

Fans of the graphic novel might find that the series suffers from the bright adaptation. But there is enough of the original themes to keep old fans interested.

Overall, *Sweet Tooth* is worth the watch. But if you're tired of virus-themed fiction by now, maybe give this a miss.

Sweet Tooth is available now on Netflix

FILM

MANDABI

Out now in cinemas

THIS FIRST feature ever made in an African language fulfilled the director Ousmane Sembene's dream "to restore Africa's stories to Africans" when it came out in 1968.

This new 4K restoration brings it to the rest of the world.

Set in the Senegalese city of Dakar, *Mandabi* tells the story of Ibrahim and the transformative effect 25,000 francs from his nephew in



Mandabi's anti-hero Ibrahim

Paris has on his fortunes. Word quickly travels about his new found wealth, but bureaucratic obstacles stand in the path between him and his windfall.

He can't cash the money without an ID card and needs to procure all sorts of documents to get one.

He zealously guards the money while spending cash he doesn't yet have.

The film was conceived as a sharp satire on post-independence African nations and the scars left on their societies by colonialism.

TOP 5 BOOKS

Bestsellers at Bookmarks, the socialist Bookshop

- 1 **Palestinian Cultures of Resistance**
Michael Lavalette
- 2 **32 Counties**
Kieran Allen
- 3 **Scotland, Independence and Socialism**
Various authors
- 4 **Rebellious Daughters of History**
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- 5 **A Rebel's Guide to George Orwell**
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Documentary poem rehashes some well-worn cliches

TELEVISION

A PANDEMIC POEM: WHERE DID THE WORLD GO?

Friday 18 June, 9pm, BBC1 and then on BBC iPlayer

WHERE DID the world go? asks poet Simon Armitage in a ponderous voice.

It seems a bit incongruous now that everything is opening up again, even though it probably shouldn't.

Still, it's a reminder of how bizarre and disorienting the first lockdown was, when it

felt like nothing would be the same again, but now feels a very long time ago.

"How did it feel? Like the world had taken a lifetime to open but only a weekend to close," says Armitage.

It's all illustrated with stock news reel of empty streets and headlines, adding to the somewhat apocalyptic sci-fi feel of the whole thing.

Between Armitage's earnest musings, there are the voices of real people who remember lockdown. Naturally the



Simon Armitage

BBC wants us to focus on the small business owners. Matthew, who lost his 200 year old family business, or Andy, a pub landlord who fed thousands of people in Preston for one penny per meal.

There are others. Comfort, an asylum seeker, describes how her mental health struggled during lockdown as she could no longer do voluntary work.

But throughout the whole thing there's a grating focus on

"community" and "resilience".

Armitage even uses the line "Keep calm and carry on"—a tired reference, perhaps deliberately so.

It seems the programme wants to remind us of something else.

It's the idea that the pandemic created a "national unity," which the Tories so heavily relied on in the first months of lockdown.

We can do without all that again.

Nick Clark

“NO MORE poor people in a rich country” was the campaign slogan of Peru’s presidential winner Pedro Castillo.

It will have resonated with millions of Peruvians who know that despite living in a mineral rich country the poor only get poorer.

And this slogan, in many ways, connects with the history of Peru where greed first and foremost was the motivation behind its brutal colonisation.

Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro was the first European to lead the charge to colonise Peru after hearing that it was a land filled with gold.

The land that is modern day Peru was then part of the powerful Inca empire. It was itself built on the conquering and consolidation of different tribes in the region.

This empire stretched across Latin America encompassing parts of what are now Bolivia, Ecuador, Chile, Columbia and Argentina as well as Peru.

After two failed attempts, Pizarro in 1531 led a major campaign to seize control of the area that would come to be known as Peru.

The Inca people fought back but thousands were slaughtered by the Spanish. Their cities were ransacked and raided for gold.

With colonial rule in place, the Spanish found ways to further exploit the labour of the indigenous population.

Before Spanish rule the Inca elite used the system of Mita—that meant every man over the age of 15 had to work some days a year for the government.

Diseases

In 1605 the Spanish introduced the practice as a system of slavery which forced the indigenous population into the mines to dig for gold, silver and mercury.

Forced labour and war, as well as the deadly diseases the Spanish brought, led to millions dying in a period of just over 100 years.

One estimate is that the population of Peru was reduced by 93 percent as a result of Spanish colonisation.

The colonisers justified the slaughter by falsely describing their victims as savages who would benefit from their rule.

Left with a shrinking source of labour the Spanish increasingly bought African slaves to build their colonial project.

But in the face of genocide the indigenous people who survived never simply submitted to colonial rule.

They revolted against the colonisers again and again.

One such revolt occurred in 1780, at the height of colonisation, when attempts by the Spanish state to more tightly regulate trade hit the local population hard.

Indigenous rebels, led by Jose Gabriel Tupac Amaru,

kidnapped and then executed the local administrator of the Tinta district. Amaru and his followers then travelled across Peru calling for the end to the system of forced labour and demanding reforms.

Rebels occupied the provinces of Tinta, Calca, Quispicanchis and Cotabambas, killing the colonisers who lived there and raiding their property.

Despite Amaru being captured and executed by the Spanish in 1781, the revolt

continued, but was brutally crushed a year later.

Spanish rule ended in 1826 after the Peruvian war of independence, in which sections of the elite fought to break free from the empire. But Peru remained very much the same as it was under colonial rule.

And the very rigid hierarchy that placed the Europeans at the top, and indigenous people and black people at the bottom persisted. Moving into the twentieth century Peru’s economy

industrialised quickly, and this in turn gave birth to workers’ struggle.

The country saw its first general strike, led by anarchists, in the textile industry in 1911. And in 1919 general strikes in the factories won an eight hour working day.

But bosses refused to grant the higher wages that workers demanded.

The strike continued and focused on calling for the former president, Augusto B Leguia, to be reinstated, believing that he could bring change.

Leguia was brought back. But instead of being an ally to the worker’s movement he worked to suppress it, moving Peru towards dictatorship.

During Leguia’s time in power he worked to repress the publications of the left and drive out its leaders.

One of these leaders who was exiled was Jose Carlos Mariategui.

Mariategui was a historian, journalist and trade union organiser who is one of Latin Americas’ most important Marxist thinkers.

His studies of the Peruvian economy both before Spanish colonisation and after offered a vital insight into how colonisation worked in the region.

Mariategui also spoke about the importance of the overlaps between race and class in the fight for socialism.

He wrote in 1927 that, “Socialism orders and defines the demands of the masses, of the working classes. And in Peru those masses are four-fifths indigenous. Thus our socialism must declare its solidarity with the native people.”

Oppressed

For Mariategui it was clear that Marxism was not something that was rigid or fixed. He believed it could be used as a tool by all oppressed people in the fight for true liberation.

At times Mariategui put too much emphasis on indigenous struggle as a mechanism for overthrowing the system.

Here he failed to fully account for the way the state felt far more able to repress these types of struggle than the mass strikes which were taking place across Latin America.

After his death in 1930, the right tried to bury Mariategui’s ideas, but they resurfaced, especially in the indigenous struggles of the 1960s.

This period also saw the beginning of three decades of guerrilla struggle fought by groups that claimed to identify with the left. They included the Maoist Shining Path and the “Marxist-Leninist” Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement.

Battles between these groups and the government were bloody, and resulted in the deaths of up to 70,000 people.

FORMER TEACHER’S union activist Pedro Castillo won last week’s presidential election in Peru

PERU A RADICAL HISTORY OF RESISTANCE

Pedro Castillo’s election win in Peru last week has cheered the left. Sophie Squire looks at the country’s history of struggle but also sounds some warnings for the future

Jose Carlos Mariategui



After the war of independence Peru remained just as if it were still colonised

But for all the sacrifice, armed struggle proved to be ineffective in bringing about real change in Peru.

The state's violence was at its height in the 1980s and 1990s. But later governments and right wingers have used brutal methods against the left.

THE vast inequalities in the country mean that left wing struggle has never been completely stamped out. And the left has been able to make an impact on electoral politics.

In 2011 Ollanta Humala was elected president with mass support from trade unions and the indigenous movement after proclaiming his "socialist principles".

His presidency was also supported by many of the leaders of Latin America's "Pink Wave". This was the movement of largely reformist—but often radical-sounding—leaders who swept to office in the early 2000s.

But like them, his promises of reform and change fell short. Humala's time in power was as repressive as many of the right wing governments that came before him.

In 2012 Humala ordered the smashing of protests against the construction of a new mine owned by US company Newmont. Several people were killed in the battles.

Corruption

Since Humala, Peru has been led by a succession of right wing presidents. Most have been implicated in corruption and scandal.

But workers' movements have also strengthened.

In 2017 a teachers' strike, led by Pedro Castillo, brought the education system to a standstill for two months.

An estimated 200,000 teachers participated in the action.

The teachers' action followed a nationwide miners' strike that demanded union rights.

At the start of this year healthcare workers went on strike to demand better salaries and conditions.

It is this wave of workers' struggle that has carried Castillo from relative anonymity to winning enough votes to become Peru's next president.

But lessons must be learnt, not just from the experience of those who have posed as left wing to come to power and then

Mural to the Shinning Path guerilla fighters. They were inspired by a distorted version of Marxism that used terrorist methods (top) Striking miners march on the city of Lima in Peru in 2017 (above)

betrayed their supporters—but also from the legacy of the Pink Tide.

Mass movements against neoliberalism propelled left wing leaders of countries including Ecuador, Venezuela and Bolivia into office, and terrified the ruling classes.

But these governments steadily made concessions to the rihc and imperialism.

This was the inevitable result of believing that socialism can come about through parliamentary methods.

The grave danger of the approach is that it leaves the capitalist state intact, and repeatedly fails when faced with the organised power of the bosses.

The power of the working class has been demonstrated in Peru and across Latin America on many occasions. The task is to turn those struggles into political and economic power, rather than using it simply to win elections.

The long history of exploitation of people and of nature that has so characterised Peruvian history will only come to an end when the whole system is brought down.



ANALYSIS

Why Bitcoin is no game changer for capitalism

Digital currencies made to be untraceable were once touted as a democratic alternative to 'real money'. Not anymore says **Sam Ord**

UNTIL RECENTLY Bitcoin and other cryptocurrencies were being touted as the future of money—and by some, even the future of capitalism itself.

Free from control by states and their banks, they were a subversive challenge to the system, they said.

But now a huge digital currency market crash seems to have wiped out many of these predictions.

The value of Bitcoin has fallen by over 50 percent since March, with the biggest falls in recent weeks.

And most other digital currencies have gone the same way.

The trigger for the great devaluation seems to have been an announcement from Tesla—billionaire Elon Musk's electric car company.

The firm said in a Tweet last month that it would no longer trade in Bitcoins and that concern over the environment was the primary reason.

Tesla was soon followed by a statement from the Bank of China. It said it was tightening regulations that ban financial institutions from providing services related to digital money.

"Virtual currencies," the bank said, "are not supported by any real value".

Tesla's apparent environmental concern stems from the way digital currencies need huge computing power to create, trade and confirm their legitimacy—a process called "mining".

They work using a decentralised technology named blockchain that records transactions.

Huge banks of high powered computer servers, stored in giant warehouses, have been needed to process them as their exchange value soared.

Some estimates put the energy use of Bitcoin alone at more than the entire country of Argentina. But

IS BILLIONAIRE Elon Musk just playing with Bitcoin?

Musk's environmental concern is unlikely to be his prime motivation. After all he is the owner of the SpaceX, the firm that wants to use massive amounts of fossil fuel in order that humans can colonise Mars.

Explanation

A more likely explanation is the way the value of digital currencies are prone to huge swings as a result of patterns of investment.

When global stock markets crashed in March last year many investors took flight fearing the coming pandemic would hit hard most of the firms listed on financial exchanges.

With profits expected to tumble, stock prices were sure to follow.

So those with spare millions had to think of other places to store their money.

Banks were offering very low interest rates, and government bonds were unlikely to generate a high enough return.

Some of that "spare money" ended up in digital currencies and helped drive

up their price to previously unknown heights.

Lots of smaller investors bought into the hype and ploughed their saving into Bitcoin and its competitors, including Dogecoin and Ethereum.

The belief was that their value would only rise, and so it seemed for a while.

By March of this year, Bitcoin's value had risen by around 800 percent over the course of 12 months.

But contrary to the sermons of digital currency evangelists, the value of Bitcoin and its rivals is being manipulated by powerful forces.

IT entrepreneur Michael Saylor has joined forces with Musk to attempt to centralise the market. They have formed the "Bitcoin Mining Council" with other companies.

Musk has invested over £1 billion in Bitcoin. This huge investment allows him to easily manipulate the market.

Some 40 percent of cryptocurrencies are held by a small group of super rich investors. The total value of significant cryptocurrencies equates to over £1 trillion.

That sounds like an enormous amount of money until you know that the global market for stocks, let alone tradable currencies and bonds, totalled £67 trillion.

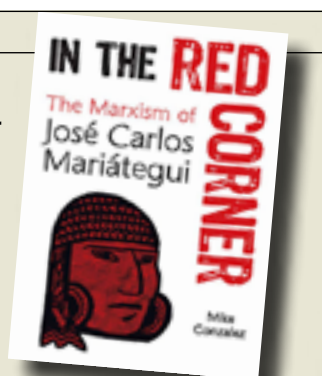
Far from being a more democratic form of exchange that can by-pass the powerful, recent weeks have demonstrated that digital currencies are just another rich man's game.

READ MORE

● **In the Red Corner—The Marxism of Jose Carlos Mariategui** by Mike Gonzalez £16.99

● **Jose Carlos Mariategui—Latin America's forgotten Marxist** by Mike Gonzalez bit.ly/MariateguiGonzalez

Available at Bookmarks, the socialist bookshop. Phone 020 7637 1848 or go to www.bookmarksbookshop.co.uk



Volvo strike in US has lessons for everyone

by ISABEL RINGROSE

HOW CAN workers fight back as bosses and politicians seek to impose a regime of austerity and profits before people?

A strike by nearly 3,000 workers at Volvo truck makers in the United States has important lessons.

It is showing the need for rank and file organisation, and that union leaders cannot be trusted to head up a fight.

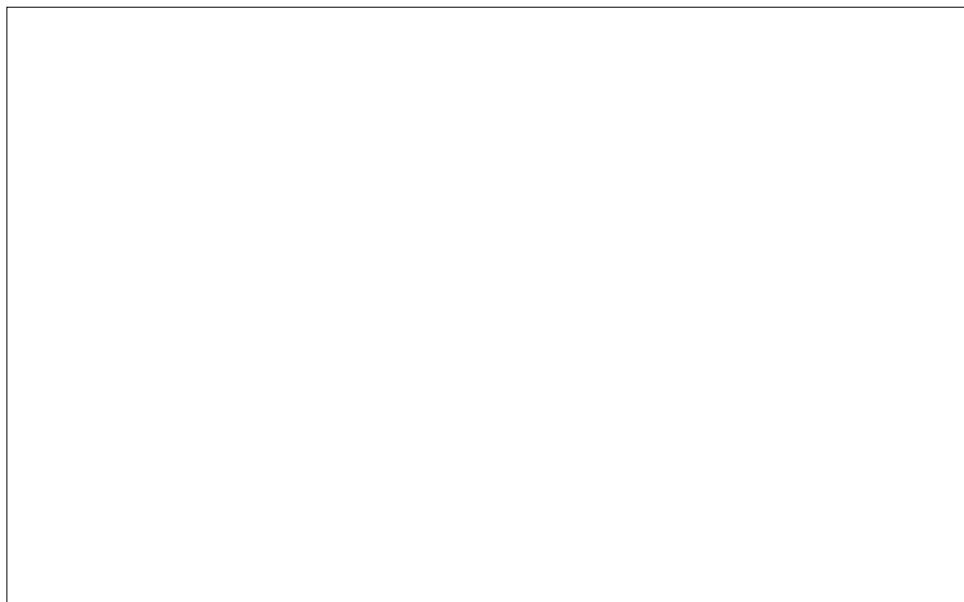
The strike, over pay and a two-tier employment system, has shut down the largest Volvo truck manufacturing facility in the world.

And workers have twice rejected deals negotiated by their United Auto Workers (UAW) union's national leaders.

On 6 June they rejected a "new" offer by 90 percent. Now strikers are back on the picket line.

The first vote had come on 16 May, after a two-week strike that began in mid-April.

Despite the strike being solid, the union told strikers to return to work before they even knew the terms of the



ON THE picket line at night in Virginia

PICTURE: UAW LOCAL 2069 ON FACEBOOK

deal. When they did discover what was on the table they furiously voted it down.

The Labor Notes website reports one worker saying, "On the first day back in the plant after the first vote, officials circulated a survey asking members' top five issues to fix. Everybody's saying, 'It's more than five'.

They're filling up the page front and back."

Volvo divides workers into "core" and "competitive", depending on their years of experience.

They have vastly different pay levels and conditions.

Newly recruited workers start at just £11.85 an hour and get less than a

pound more each year for five years.

Their maximum pay is £15.35 an hour, far less than the core top pay of £21.20 an hour.

Under the rejected offer, although there are pay increases, the tiers remain. Volvo wants to keep this so that post-pandemic it can

make even greater profits from its truck division. It has seen soaring demand as delivery firms became more crucial during the pandemic.

But why are the trade union leaders going along with the bosses?

Some of those at the top of the UAW nationally have a disgusting record of corruption.

The US Justice Department found some UAW executives—including those involved in deals that made huge concessions to firms—were taking bribes or embezzling union money.

Picket

But union leaders don't have to be directly paid off or offered a favour to act in a way that lets down strikers.

Top union leaders everywhere see their role as settling disputes and balancing between bosses and workers.

Without workers' organisation and struggle they have nothing to bargain with.

So sometimes they do support a fightback.

But they always want to keep it within strict limits.

This is disastrous when the other side is determined.

There is now an urgency about raising the level of resistance.

Companies and governments will try to emerge from the pandemic having held down wages and worsened conditions.

They have rediscovered brutal weapons such as fire and rehire to use against workers.

The Volvo strike shows that rank and file workers can stand together against the bosses—and begin to organise themselves independently.

But crucially they can also pressure the union leaders into action. There are some early signs that there is rising struggle in the US.

There have been strikes by coal miners in Alabama, steelworkers in Pennsylvania, nurses in Massachusetts, oil workers in Texas and others.

It's too early to say whether this will become a surge as happened with the teachers' strikes and other action in 2018.

But a win at Volvo would be an inspiration to all.

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Is there a ‘new cold war’ behind the US and China?

As US president Joe Biden goes on a mission to turn the West against China, Nick Clark investigates the competition between the capitalist states

“WE are in a competition to win the 21st century, and the starting gun has gone off.”

That’s how Joe Biden describes the US’s rivalry with China—a high stakes battle to dominate the globe for the next 80 years.

With that warning last week, the senate passed a £176 billion package of subsidies and sanctions to boost US industry against China’s.

The New York Times newspaper called it “the most significant government intervention in industrial policy in decades”.

Biden then toured meetings of the G7, the Nato military alliance and the European Council to get his Western allies singing from his hymn sheet.

Writing in the Washington Post newspaper ahead of his visits, Biden repeated two themes.

These were “security” against “threats” from China, and “ensuring that market democracies, not China or anyone else, write the 21st-century rules around trade and technology”.

Speculate

Now pundits speculate whether this makes for the beginning of a “new cold war.” They’re referring to the second half of the 20th century, when two competing superpowers, the US and Russia, divided the world into rival blocs.

China is the first rival imperialist power to challenge the US since Russia’s collapse in the 1990s. But this isn’t the Cold War on repeat.

The Cold War is often cast as a great clash between two ideologies—Western “freedom” and Russian “communism”. In reality, this clash was between two competing ways of making capitalism work—the West’s free market capitalism and the state-dominated capitalism of Russia.

This time there is no such great

ideological battle. Biden’s obligatory yet cursory nods to “democratic values” are a much thinner veneer for the economic competition that’s going on behind.

The £176 billion “China competitiveness bill” includes a £35 billion subsidy to US makers of semiconductor chips.

These are essential to almost any electronic device—and they’re at the sharp end of the competition between the US and China.

The US has been one of the world’s biggest semiconductor manufacturers for decades, while China mostly has to import them. Now China wants to make its own, and break its tech industry’s reliance on the US.

The same bill also paves the way for sanctions and bans on Chinese companies that the US government says are violating US firms’ intellectual property rights.

Behind this is a fear that China’s growth as an economic and military power means that it will replace the US’s global dominance.

China’s share of global GDP—the market value of all goods and services produced in the world—is already higher than the US’s.

International politics is still dominated by US trade deals and military alliances. But China’s growth has led it to start forming its own deals and alliances that challenge the US.

Now, they are both building their military and naval forces in one of the world’s biggest shipping lanes—the South China Sea.

That’s where economic competition becomes military competition or, where a “cold” war could start real wars.

with the US—are not so straightforward.

The Chinese state owns some of China’s largest, most important businesses and industries, and has many close ties with private companies too.

But these private companies are growing, and have business, trade and investment links with other states through the global market.

This is all part of China’s growth as an

economic power. And it’s at least partly thanks to the fact that since the 1970s, the US has helped to make China part of the global free market economy.

The US wanted to make China part of its world order, rather than a challenge to it as Russia was. Now China has become a rival to the US within that system.

But even as they compete, the US and

China still depend on each other for trade and investment. China is the largest holder of US treasury bill bonds—a source of government debt.

China’s vice president and the US’s treasury secretary discussed “pragmatic” trade cooperation last week.

They both agreed their economic relationship is “very important.” This is how capitalism

often works. In search of immediate profits, states and their businesses can cooperate with trade deals and alliances.

But the backdrop is the competition fundamental to capitalism, with each side trying to get the upper hand.

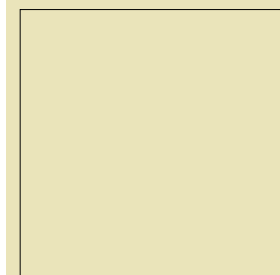
When one becomes a challenge to the power of another it ends in confrontation—even as they seek to make money from one another.

Biden’s war threat no different to Trump’s

JOE Biden is planning a raft of sanctions and tariffs against China, all justified by what he says are China’s “unfair trade practices.”

But both Biden and Trump agree that China is the US’s greatest threat—and that it has to be confronted aggressively.

In an article before



US aircraft carrier near China

he was elected as US president last year, Biden wrote that the US needs “to get tough with China.”

He said that meant the US had to “build a united front of US allies and partners” against China. Now Biden is putting those words into action.

The other part of this is building up the US’s military against China.

US defence secretary Lloyd Austin last week issued a directive declaring China to be the “number one” focus of the US military.

And Biden’s plan for military spending earlier this year—which he proposed raising to **Trump launched a trade war** China the US’s “top challenge.”

Pundits focus on Biden’s use of “diplomacy” to contain China. But it’s all backed up with military might and the threat of devastating war.

Locked together in cooperation and competition

JOE BIDEN is planning a raft of sanctions and tariffs against China, all justified by what he says are China’s “unfair trade practices.”

He links this to the Chinese state’s control of trade and industry, which he says unfairly supports Chinese businesses and restricts the US’s.

In fact, the relationship between the state and private businesses in China—and their dealings

Left should stand firm in Unite union leadership election

Charlie Kimber explains why candidates in the Unite general secretary election should not stand down in favour of a single left candidate

THE UNITE union general secretary election is the subject of intense debate after candidates' nominations were declared last week.

The numbers for each were Steve Turner 525, Sharon Graham 349, Howard Beckett 328 and Gerard Coyne 196.

Unite is Britain's second biggest union. It organises across large parts of the public and private sectors and has a big influence in the Labour Party.

There is now a sharp debate about whether there must be a single left candidate.

The argument goes that three left candidates will split the vote and Labour right winger Coyne could win with as little as 26 percent of the vote.

The argument continues, as Turner won the most nominations Graham and Beckett must stand down. It's wrong.

Coyne is an open supporter of Keir Starmer. His election as Unite leader would represent a shift to the right in the official trade union movement.

But that doesn't mean everyone should be stamped into lining up behind Turner. The number

of branch nominations is no true indicator of voting support.

In 2017 Len McCluskey received 1,185 branch nominations to Coyne's 187 branch nominations. Yet McCluskey only just won by 59,067 votes to Coyne's 53,544.

More importantly, Turner is an easy target for Coyne, who campaigns on a loosely-defined argument for "change".

Turner offers nothing radical. He is continuity, not a new road.

Turner proudly proclaims on his campaign website his belief in the close relationships between union officials, bosses and the government.

And he defends the present Labour leadership against the mildest attacks from the left. Turner isn't the answer to the challenges Unite members face.

Volatile

Union elections can be very volatile, and the left needs to hold its collective nerve.

In 2000 Mark Serwotka was elected general secretary of the PCS union. He ran a strong socialist campaign. But many on the left had told him to withdraw in favour of a more right wing candidate.

They argued that "the danger of the right" made this essential.

Socialist Worker supports Sharon Graham for Unite general secretary. We are pleased she has won so many nominations on the basis of saying, "Our power is rooted in the workplace. That's how we win."

She has won the backing of branches with a combined membership of a quarter of a million.

We have criticisms of some of her approach, and her reluctance to take up wider political issues. But she should stay in the race, and her message of change from the left can defeat Coyne.

We want a shift in the union—not more of the same.

STEVE TURNER is no answer to Unite's problems

Unison union local government conference pledges to fight cuts

AROUND 400 delegates from across local government in Unison met last Saturday for the union's first virtual sectoral conference since the start of the pandemic.

The sector has been decimated by over a decade of Tory cuts. Despite bearing the brunt of the crisis, workers are set to pay again now.

The government recently made a derisory 1.5 percent pay offer to local government workers in England.

The first motion discussed at the conference was on the future of local government.

It voted to oppose

privatisation of services and to campaign to bring services back in house.

It also voted to better coordinate local disputes, to campaign for a proper funding settlement and to develop a clear industrial strategy to fight for better pay.

Conference also pledged its support for Gypsy, Roma and Traveller people in the face of government racism and to campaign for employers to develop action plans to be carbon net zero by 2030.

It also backed fully-funded comprehensive education, to equip workers to challenge

online sexual harassment and for homeworking as a reasonable adjustment for disabled workers.

Conference also passed a motion condemning the campaign against reforms to the Gender Recognition Act and urging all branches to campaign for trans equality.

Unison was slow to adapt to the world of online organising during the pandemic.

The conference was the first to take place following the results of the executive elections, which saw the left win a commanding majority (see page 19).

Tom Kay

PCS union votes to challenge pay freezes

THE PUBLIC and Commercial Services Union (PCS) held its annual conference last week. Around 900 delegates attended from the civil service, public bodies and outsourced staff.

Debates opened with Sarah Evans, Driver and Vehicle Licensing Agency (DVLA) branch chair and one of the leaders of

their strike for Covid-19 safety.

Striking has massively grown the branch and DVLA is now the largest in PCS.

The conference reflected on many of the problems members face, including the effects of long Covid, unequal pay, discrimination and bullying at work—including by government

ministers. Delegates supported defending the Working Time Directive that goes some way to protect workers.

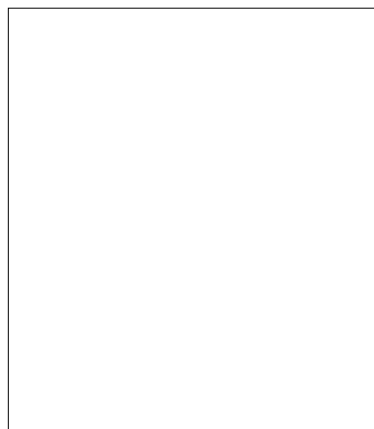
Other debates supported pension justice and winning overpayments back.

Conference overwhelmingly voted to challenge the Tories' pay freeze by building branches. And delegates

also called to make local and national alliances with public sector unions for co-ordinated industrial action.

Delegates described how members' confidence could be raised with joint fights with NHS pay campaigners.

They voted to support a £12 minimum wage and to fight compulsory redundancies.



Socialist Worker supports Sharon Graham

EDUCATION

Islington victory can inspire more fights

by SAMORD

WORKERS AT Islington Sixth Form College in north London have won an important victory after six days of strikes.

NEU union members were facing plans to work an additional 13 evenings interviewing potential students.

The strikes have seen the additional hours reduced from 30 to six.

Teachers also raised concerns that management opposed NEU policy and observed lessons during the pandemic.

Management also started grading the lessons, which even school inspectorate, Ofsted didn't do.

The workers' fight has successfully removed the grading of lesson observations.

Secretary of Islington NEU Tony Buttifant said, "Good progress has also been made on negotiations surrounding the pay award for 2020 and 2021, potential redundancies due to restructuring, summer 2021 enrolment and a new observation policy.

"The college has been



ISLINGTON PICKET lines were important PICTURE: KEN MULLER

given a clear demonstration that members are prepared to act to achieve their demands."

Picket lines were well attended, workers took the knee on the anniversary of George Floyd's murder and students, parents and local residents offered solidarity.

Capital City College Group (CCCG) which operates Islington Sixth Form College is spending at least half a million pounds revamping its empty Regent's Park campus in central London.

This is in preparation for a company named 01 Founders to implement a "sink or swim" admissions model. Extraordinarily it will have "teacherless" training courses.

CCCG is pushing through 30 redundancies at this new venture. This has triggered the UCU union to launch a strike ballot.

Pimlico Academy—teachers in London struck on Tuesday of last week over management failures.

The picket line was supported by 50 parents and teachers in the NEU union.

Further strikes were planned for Tuesday and Wednesday this week. Student protests, teacher opposition and parents organising, saw the head teacher resign last month.

●Messages of solidarity to sophie.evans@neu.org.uk

Redbridge—Workers at Oaks Park High School in Redbridge, east London, were set to strike on Tuesday this week.

They are supporting four victimised colleagues who used Section 44 of the Employment Rights Act to refuse to work in an unsafe environment in January.

●Messages of solidarity to bill.stockwell@neu.org.uk and venda.premkumar@neu.org.uk

Shrewsbury—Workers at Shrewsbury College are continuing the fight against the victimisation of NEU rep John Boken.

Further strikes were planned on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday this week.

●Messages of support to jean.evanson@neu.org.uk

NHS CRISIS

continued from back page>> desperate for isn't coming," he said. "In fact, the job has become so hard that lots of people feel they just can't do it anymore.

"Some people are retiring, others are no longer working overtime shifts.

"That means demand is rising but the number of staff is falling. That's a terrible combination.

"This is the chickens coming home to roost. All the problems from before the pandemic are back—only now they are much bigger."

"No wonder staff are

demoralised. The government don't give a shit."

The growing crisis in A&E units can now be found in every part of the NHS.

That's why the demonstrations for the health service set for Saturday 3 July in towns and cities across Britain are so vital.

They can unite campaigners and health workers fighting for a decent pay rise.

●Go to keepournhspublic.com for details of protests near you
Additional reporting by Martin Chapman

UNIVERSITIES

Fighting university job cuts

OVER 200 people took part in an online solidarity rally for striking UCU union members at Liverpool and Leicester universities last Friday.

Workers at both universities struck last week over compulsory redundancies.

At Liverpool following strikes the management has announced the number of redundancies has changed from "an initial 47 to 24, and we anticipate this will reduce further".

The rally drew together strikers from both universities as well as students and locals MPs.

Violaine See, a Liverpool lecturer explained how her job being cut "came out of the blue".

"I have healthy research

going, I have won more than £1 million for it. I have also written lots of publications and secured millions of pounds in equipment and have one of the highest teaching loads."

Simon Lilley from Leicester said, "I'm being made redundant because apparently my research isn't aligned to university strategy."

Simon also pointed out that it is no coincidence that many of those that could be made redundant are UCU union reps.

Other UCU members pointed out the need to escalate and broaden out the fight for jobs.

Workers at both universities have now launched marking boycotts.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

ABERDEEN CITY council workers in the Unite union are striking over plans to merge the role of housing officer and support officer.

The first strike was on Friday of last week with eight more days to follow on every Friday and Monday until the end of July.

Pickets said combining the two housing jobs was a cost-cutting exercise. The proposed reorganisation involves 78 workers.
Gerry McCabe

JACOBS DOUWE EGBERTS

BRAZEN JACOBS Douwe Egberts (JDE) bosses admitted to the workers they recently sacked that they had been planning for industrial action for two years.

Unite union national officer Joe Clarke spoke to protesters outside the coffee plant in Banbury, Oxfordshire, last week. He said during talks JDE representatives said they effectively engineered this dispute over fire and rehire.

But workers have stood up to bullying bosses' attempts to force them to sign new contracts. These mean the loss of thousands of pounds a year.

As one worker remarked, "Management has turned a group of people who thought

of themselves as moderate into a bunch of militants."

Unite members have been on an overtime ban since 1 May and have held a series of 24-hour strikes and one 72-hour strike since 8 May.

The equivalent of hundreds of millions of cups of coffee have been lost in production.

Barry Gardiner MP was due to launch his bill to outlaw fire and rehire on Monday afternoon outside the plant.

However the strikes need to be escalated. An all-out indefinite strike can win.

●Donations to branch SE6228—sort code 60-83-01, a/c number 33200424, name 5/614. Messages of support to @Banbury3001 on Twitter
Pat Carmody

UNISON UNION

Change needed as left takes over the exec

THE LEFT has swept to control the national executive committee (NEC) of Unison for the first time since the union was created in 1993.

It's a very big shift at the top of Britain's biggest union with 1.3 million members.

There were 37 candidates elected who were part of the Time For Real Change slate. It was formed after the powerful challenge by Paul Holmes for general secretary earlier this year.

Socialist Worker supported this slate

In addition four members of the Socialist Party won. The other 27 members of the executive are Labour right wingers, supporters of new general secretary Christina McAnea and people who have a mix of views.

McAnea, in congratulating all the successful candidates on

Twitter, added, "Sorry to lose some good people and commiserations to others."

One of those elected to the NEC told Socialist Worker, "This result is a reflection of the frustration felt by many Unison members.

"We have faced a decade of austerity, job cuts, and wage curbs. Tory governments have boosted racism while doing nothing about climate change.

Resist

"But Unison has been too slow to resist and has put obstacles in the way of action. There were possibilities of continued major action in 2011 and 2014 but it was choked off."

The right won't just give up. In past years NEC members have immediately been notified of their first meeting to elect positions. This has not yet happened.

The Time for Real Change group said in a statement,

"This majority for change on the Unison NEC must now enable a positive transformation of our union.

"We are determined to change Unison into a force that can protect and improve your terms and conditions at work."

But that will take more than just better resolutions and circulars from the top.

The NEC member said, "There has to be a real shift in terms of telling members that we have to fight and that the union will encourage and support you if you fight.

"The union has to take up issues such as NHS pay, women's rights, disabled people's rights and more. We need action, not words.

"That's a challenge. The turnout for the NEC elections was 5 percent.

"We have to look outwards and build the fightback at the base, that's what really matters."

CONSTRUCTION

Protests win on deskilling

CONSTRUCTION bosses have withdrawn the latest attempt to deskill the industry.

A Balfour Beatty/NG Bailey joint venture and client EDF have U-turned on a plan to use "deskilled" workers for electrical jobs at Hinkley Point C.

Electricians staged protests for 15 weeks over plans to hire a lower grade of electrical worker that would carry out tasks such as containment. Unite the union said such activities were the "bread and butter" of electricians' work.

Unite entered talks in March about the new grades and they were put on hold.

Balfour Beatty and NG Bailey said they remain committed to the Joint Industry Board (JIB) agreement and the training of fully qualified electricians.

The main electrical works have yet to start on the Hinkley Point C project.

NEW WAVE FORCES TORIES TO KEEP LOCKDOWN RULES

With infections doubling every nine days even Boris Johnson could not fully ignore the risks, says **Yuri Prasad**

AGAINST ALL his pro-profit instincts Boris Johnson has been forced to keep lockdown measures in place—for at least another four weeks.

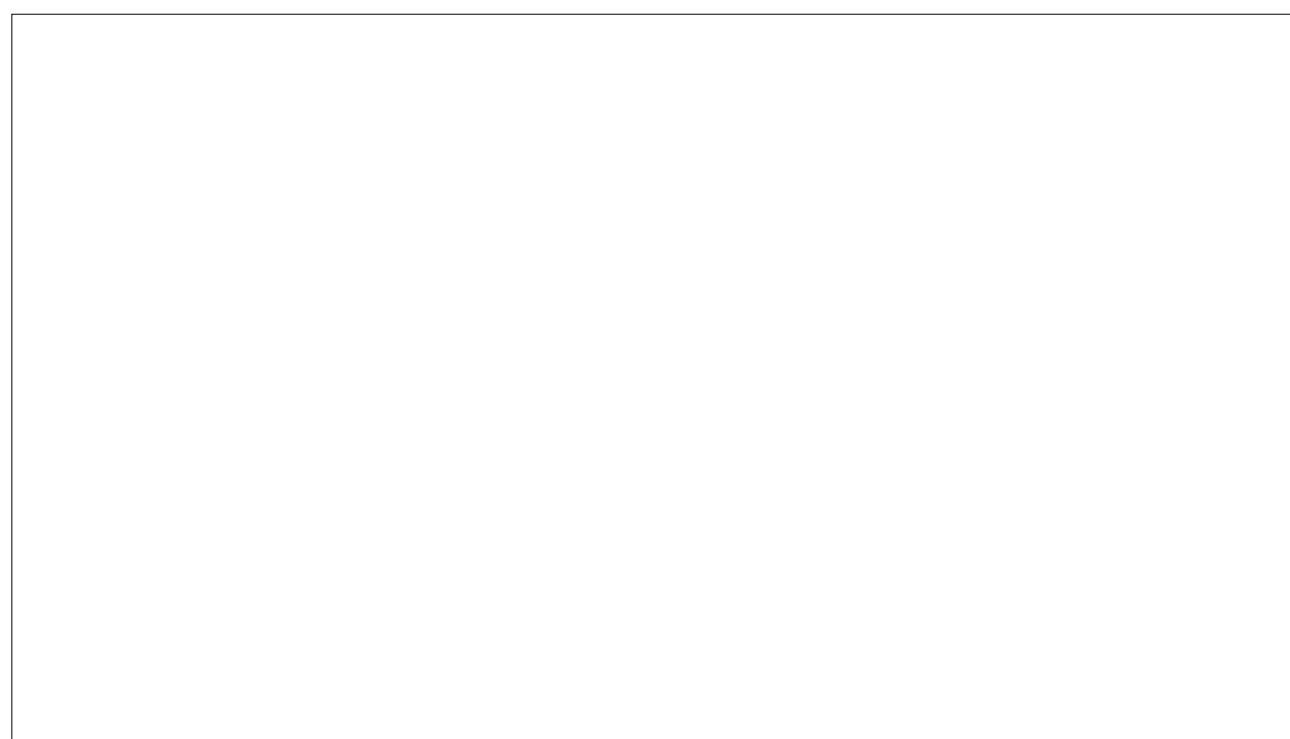
Bosses and right wing Tories had frothed about how “freedom day” could not be delayed for a minute longer lest the chance to make money be squandered.

But the danger of a new round of coronavirus infections is now so great that even the government dared not ignore it.

Some 50,017 people tested positive last week, and the number of cases is now doubling every nine days.

And, around 7 million people in England are now living in areas with high Covid-19 rates. That is four times the number just two weeks ago.

The more transmissible Delta variant, which took hold in Britain just as restrictions were being relaxed in spring, now accounts for 91 percent of all new cases.



COVID-19 TESTING centres, such as this one in Plymouth, have recently picked up the large spike in infections

Hospitalisation rates and deaths are so far much lower than in previous rounds of infection. That likely reflects the success of the vaccination programme.

But many of those now contracting Covid-19 are young and as yet unvaccinated.

And, among the positive

tests are a significant number of people who have had only one jab.

Injectors

So far less than 45 percent of the British population have had both injections.

School-aged children account for a large number of new infections, according

to Office for National Statistics. However there is also a rise among people aged between 35 and 49, which will likely include the parents of children in secondary schools.

That's why the Independent Sage group of scientists last week called for better protective measures

in schools. Yet, the government is determined to move in the opposite direction.

Last month the education department removed the requirement to wear masks in secondary schools.

Ministers' complacency is driven by pressure from the right to fully open up.

Theatre impresario and

former Tory peer Andrew Lloyd Webber says he will this week defy restrictions and open his Cinderella show in London's West End.

Posing as a martyr for liberty-loving bosses everywhere, he declared he is prepared to go to jail in the pursuit of profit.

Scotland

Lloyd Webber is backed by scores of other business owners demanding an end to lockdown. They insist that vaccines mean the virus is no longer a threat.

But reports from Scotland and the north west of England, which appear to be furthest into the new wave of infections, show that hospitalisation rates will likely rise significantly.

That's why lockdown measures must stay.

Many people will suffer economic hardship as restrictions continue. If preventative measures are to stand any chance of working, benefits and furlough payments for must rise, and encompass more people.

The Tories have been forced to postpone “freedom day”.

Now they must be forced to deliver the social and economic protection needed to keep people safe.

NHS in crisis as patients queue for 12 hours to see doctors

SICK PEOPLE are queuing for up to twelve hours to see a doctor at some of Britain's busiest hospitals.

Already nearly 1.4 million patients have attended struggling A&E units in England during May according to data published last week by The Royal College of Emergency Medicine.

That's the second highest figure since the 1980s.

The picture in Wales is similar.

Swansea couple Gerald and Patricia Trengrove arrived at Morriston hospital A&E at 12 noon last Sunday. After being triaged they were told

the wait to see a doctor would likely be five hours.

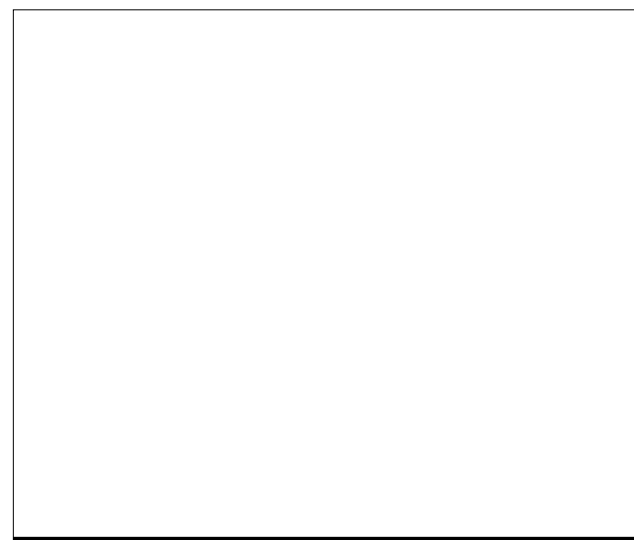
But they were eventually seen at midnight—12 hours after they'd arrived.

“We've become very anxious,” said Pat. “The NHS has been brilliant in the past. I just can't understand how it has got like this.”

Another patient had arrived at 2pm but was only seen by a doctor at 4am the next day.

“It was difficult to count the number of staff on duty but it was confirmed to me that there were just three doctors covering A&E,” they said.

In Manchester, patients



Queuing for A&E outside Manchester Royal Infirmary last week

were faced with ten-hour waits and had to queue outside the city's Royal Infirmary last week.

One woman who had recently given birth was dealing with an injury to her caesarean-section wound.

Combination

“The queue was epically long, there was nobody to speak to, no shelter, absolutely nothing,” a family member told a Manchester Evening News.

Health workers say the rise in patients is being driven by a combination of new Covid-19 infections and people with long term health conditions that have

not had proper treatment during the pandemic.

Lots people in A&E say that they have been unable to get an appointment with their local GP and they now needed to come to hospital.

But the long waits are not only due to increase number of patients.

One London paramedic told Socialist Worker that the shortage of medical staff has gotten far worse as the first waves of the pandemic have receded.

“It's true that our call volumes have gone up massively, and that means the easing-off that health workers were so

>>>Continued on Page 19